HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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35¢

Ed Partin: A Skeleton in Bobby's Closet

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

While the press pursues every fugitive frown on Bobby Kennedy's face, a less than glorious chapter in the saga of a young-man-on-the-make remains without a finish. Only an even-handed justice can write a close to it, but the constabulary of the printed word is too busy elsewhere to do the job. Now that Bobby is soliciting the presidency, the story and its current sequel assume great importance.

The characters are Bobby, the Justice Department, former President James R. Hoffa of the Teamsters Union, and a man named Ed Partin. Mr. Partin, whose roster of crimes, felonies and misdemeanors includes kidnaping and 26 counts of embezzlement, entered the scene in the period when Atty. Gen. Kennedy was trying to put Jimmy Hoffa in prison. It was, for Bobby, a blood feud.

Ed Partin, in a Louisiana pokey awaiting trial for a variety of matters which would put him behind bars for most of his natural life, suddenly demanded to see someone in high authority because, he said, he had "evidence" that there was a Teamster plot on Bobby Kennedy's life. He shouted loudly enough to be heard in Washington, and a team of Justice Department "Hoffa experts" visited him. The "evidence" of the murder plot was never taken seriously, but Mr. Partin was forthwith released and instructed to infiltrate the Hoffa entourage—which he did.

In time, Mr. Hoffa was indicted on charges of tampering with a federal jury. The witnesses placed on the stand met with no success in pinning the rap on him—and Jimmy Hoffa relaxed. Then Mr. Partin was called. He was the only witness who would testify to any of the acts charged against the Teamster president—and he proceeded to do so with an ease and fluency which shriveled up under cross-examination.

Edward Partin, at far left, leaves the Federal Court Building in Nashville, Tenn., during the conspiracy trial of Teamsters head Jimmy Hoffa. Others in the picture are William Bufalino, Hoffa's lawyer, and Ewing King, another defendant in the trial.

The Hoffa defense argued that Mr. Partin had a motive in appearing as a government witness—namely, that he had been promised immunity for his past misdeeds. It tried to bring this point up in court, as legitimate moves to impeach the Partin testimony and to challenge his reliability.

Jimmy Hoffa was convicted in a trial challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union, but the Supreme Court ignored its own strictures on the rights of defendants and refused to return the case to the lower courts. Bobby Kennedy took all the bows for his work in putting Mr. Hoffa in a federal penitentiary—and that should have been that. But justice will out—sometimes.

In early May, an attorney for the Justice Department, Michael Epstein, went before Federal Judge E. Gordon West in a Baton Rouge, La., courtroom to ask that the 26-count indictment against Mr. Partin for embezzlement of union funds be dismissed. To let Mr. Partin off without a trial, Mr. Epstein said, would be "in the interests of justice." He also contended that one government witness against Mr. Partin had died and that certain records had disappeared.

"In other words," said Judge West, "this is a payoff for testimony in the Hoffa trial." Mr. Epstein denied it. "This court and the public have a right to know," Judge West pressed. "If this is a payoff, that's all right—just go ahead and say so, so the public will understand how these things work." Mr. Epstein refused to elaborate, but he answered "That's correct" when Judge West insisted that the motion to dismiss the indictments was a direct result of Mr. Partin's testimony in the Hoffa trial.

"What records have been destroyed?" Judge West demanded. The Justice Department attorney would not say. "Would it make any difference if evidence was available as to where [the missing] records went and on whose orders they disappeared?" Perhaps, he added, the Justice Department should start investigating "some criminal violation concerning the destruction of evidence. . . . Are the interests of justice to be served by the granting of lifetime immunity to someone because of the wishes of a previous attorney general?"

But Mr. Epstein continued to withhold the name of the dead witness or to specify what records were missing. "If this went to trial tomorrow dozens of witnesses would be available," Judge West asserted. Then he refused to dismiss the 26-count indictment against Ed Partin.

The Justice Department can appeal that decision. Whatever it does, Ed Partin will remain in his privileged sanctuary. Only the Justice Department can bring Mr. Partin to trial—and it has not the slightest intention of doing so. Think of the embarrassment to the "previous attorney general"!

In any case, the Justice Department is too busy investigating a Labor-Management Commission on the ground that it is trying to win freedom for James Hoffa. By this tactic, whatever skeletons are lurking in the closet of the Kennedy Administration will be kept under lock and key, at least during an election year.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Capital Briefs

● **Crime in the Nation's Capital** continues, despite some belated steps to halt it by the Democratic-controlled federal and local governments—including an LBJ call for some 1,000 new policemen. Representing some 1,800 employes of the U.S. Government Printing Office, Charles F. Hines, president of Columbia Typographical Union No. 101, has written LBJ and Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark the following: "There is not a day or night that goes by that one of our loyal Government Printing Office employes isn't mugged, yoked, beaten, stabbed or robbed or damage done to personal property, all due to the lack of proper, legal protection." Hines has threatened a strike unless GPO workers get better protection.

● The New York Times quoted an aide of Sen. **Thomas Kuchel** (R.-Calif.) as saying last week that if Governor Reagan "had in any way opposed our campaign or given the least encouragement to Rafferty, we could never have held the Senator's campaign together. But he didn't and we should be okay." Statements praising Kuchel by conservative senators such as John Tower (Tex.) and Clifford Hansen (Wyo.) are also said to have been a great boon to California's senior senator. Rafferty, however, was still given a fighting chance of winning by the Mervin Field poll just prior to the June 4 primary.

● *Humphrey and McCarthy forces are said* to be circulating in California—much as they did in Oregon—those **Drew Pearson columns** charging Bobby Kennedy with having overruled FBI objections to tapping the telephone conversations of Dr. Martin Luther King. The accusations have hurt Kennedy since Bobby has pretended to be such a great friend of the late Negro leader and his family. While Kennedy sidekick, portly Pierre Salinger, has denied the authenticity of the stories, Sen. Kennedy has yet to deny the accusations himself.

● "Do as I say, not as I do," seems to be the attitude of the liberal **New York Times**. While the Times regularly beats its editorial breast about civil rights, the chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Clifford L. Alexander, says that although the Times has over 200 reporters in the New York area, only three are Negroes and none is Puerto Rican. The Times, in fact, has "never had a Puerto Rican reporter" and "never in the history of the Times have they had an editor or vice president who was a Negro or Puerto Rican."

● *For what it's worth department: A poll of* **New York homosexuals** reveals Eugene McCarthy the front-running presidential candidate with Bobby Kennedy a close second, followed by Nelson Rockefeller, and John V. Lindsay. Richard Nixon finished last. The poll, reported in New York's Village Voice, declared that "McCarthy's and Kennedy's popularity among homosexuals is another evidence of their respective appeals to minority groups."

● The U.S. still continues to sell **sophisticated computers** to the Communist bloc, despite its vast aid to Hanoi in the Viet Nam war. In 1967, American computer manufacturers sold the Soviet Union $734,850 of computer equipment; East Germany $1,156,408; Czechoslovakia, $1,881,360; Hungary, $110,489; Poland, $17,750 and Yugoslavia, $131,032. Applications for licenses to sell computers to the Red bloc have increased so far in 1968, with one Department of Commerce spokesman saying: "The increase has not been what you could call sharp, but it has been noticeable."

● The favorite son hopes of Sen. **Charles Percy** were dashed last week when his chief supporter endorsed Richard Nixon for president. The action of Robert D. Stuart Jr., GOP national committeeman from Illinois, means that Nixon will have that state's delegation on the first ballot at Miami Beach.

● Just prior to announcing his decision to run for the Senate seat now being vacated by Carl Hayden in Arizona, **Barry Goldwater** received some good news. He had won $75,000 in punitive damages in his libel suit against Fact magazine and its publisher, convicted pornographer Ralph Ginzburg. After 13 hours' deliberation, a jury of nine men and three women in a New York federal court unanimously found that Fact had subjected Goldwater to deliberate character assassination in its October 1964 issue by suggesting that Goldwater was psychiatrically unfit to be President. Ginzburg says he will appeal the verdict.

● Rendered by Chief Justice Earl Warren, no less, the Supreme Court's 7-to-1 decision last week to uphold the constitutionality of a law making it a crime to knowingly **mutilate a draft card** is a victory for Congress over the Justice Department. When Rep. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.) introduced such legislation in 1965, Justice Department officials poured cold water on the whole idea, claiming the act was probably unconstitutional.

● In a letter to Fortune magazine, former U.S. Ambassador to Viet Nam **Frederick Nolting Jr.** (1961-63), squarely lays the blame for large-scale American involvement in the Viet war on the doorstep of the Kennedy Administration and Bobby Kennedy in particular. The Kennedy Regime's encouragement of "the revolt against the Diem government in the fall of 1963," says Nolting, "marked the fatal turning point in America's involvement in Viet Nam." After that, Nolting states, "South Viet Nam's self-reliant struggle for independence" was transformed "into an American responsibility and an American war." By betraying the elected constitutional government of Diem, the Kennedy Administration created the political vacuum which "one-half million Americans have been unable to fill."

● Former New York Mayor **Robert F. Wagner**, a career politician with no experience in foreign affairs, has been named ambassador to Spain. LBJ had originally named another lifelong politico, Frank McKinney to the post. But McKinney, a former Democratic National Chairman, suffered a heart attack and asked to be relieved of the assignment.

● Newly designated Air Force Chief Lt. Gen. **George Brown** warned publicly last week that a total halt in the bombing of Communist supply routes through North Viet Nam "would be pretty costly to us." In fact, Brown has told the White House that stepped-up air raids are necessary to halt the massive troop and supply movements to the South (Gen. Thomas A. Lane agrees; see page 6).

● **Rose Kennedy** made headlines when she candidly declared, "It's our money, and we'll spend it any way we choose." Within a matter of hours, Mrs. Kennedy "received two emissaries from my son [Bobby] who cautioned me about discussing finances. If I talked further about that, they said, I'd be sent home."

● Leonard Marks, head of the United States Information Agency, has invited the **Chinese Communists** to the United States to observe the November elections. So far, the Reds have refused to take him up on the invitation.

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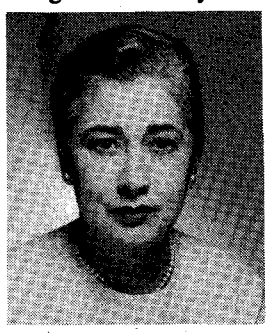
Celler's Last Stand?

Citizens concerned about the appalling rate of crime and rioting that is convulsing the country will have a golden opportunity to accomplish something constructive between now and June 18. During this interval, they can use their energies to aid the crucial campaign of Rep. Edna Kelly, who is waging a hotly contested primary against Rep. Emanuel Celler to see who represents New York's newly created 10th Congressional District. Primary victory in this heavily Democratic district means almost certain election in November.



KELLY

A spirited Irish Democrat, knowledgeable in foreign affairs, the 62-year-old Mrs. Kelly sports a liberal voting record on such matters as domestic spending and civil rights. But the issue which may turn the tables in her favor is her advocacy of sound law enforcement measures.

Her victory over the 80-year-old Celler on June 18, moreover, would not only remove one of the most powerful and radical influences in the House of Representatives but a major opponent of effective anti-crime legislation.

While crime in Celler's Brooklyn district has been rising at an enormous rate in the past few years, Celler has been voting to make things easier for criminals and rioters.

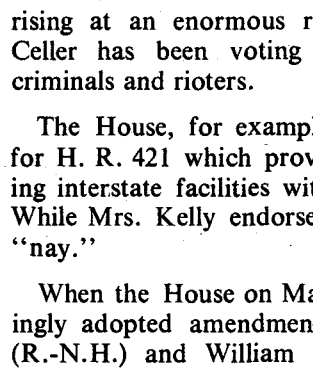
The House, for example, voted on July 19, 1967, for H. R. 421 which provided penalties for those using interstate facilities with an intent to incite rioting. While Mrs. Kelly endorsed this measure, Celler voted "nay."

When the House on May 9 of this year overwhelmingly adopted amendments by Reps. Louis Wyman (R.-N.H.) and William Scherle (R.-Iowa) aimed at cutting off federal education funds to student rioters, Celler managed to be absent for the vote. Mrs. Kelly, on the other hand, enthusiastically backed the provisos.

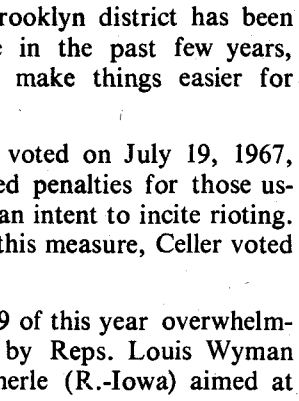
Though Celler claims to be a stout supporter of the Negro, he also didn't vote to permit the House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate the violence-prone Ku Klux Klan.

The most fantastic of all Celler maneuvers, however, have been his amazing attempts to emasculate the Senate-passed crime bill.

Moments after it had been approved by a 72-to-4 vote, Celler, who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, arrogantly claimed he would rather "sacrifice" the entire crime bill than permit the



CELLER



SCHERLE

House to accept the Senate's Title II, which modifies Supreme Court rulings on confessions. Czar Celler had spoken.

As a result of High Court rulings excluding, on very technical grounds, the use of most voluntary confessions, prosecutors and lower federal and state courts have had to let loose thousands of vicious criminals, including self-confessed murderers. The purpose of Title II is to prevent the courts from throwing out confessions solely because of some technicality. Under this title, a trial judge will be permitted to enter into evidence any confession he believes has not been coerced. But Celler is vigorously opposed to any legislation which takes issue with his beloved Supreme Court.

Though Title II has strong House support, the aging Brooklyn Democrat has already launched a major move to kill it off. His plan is to send the Senate-passed bill to a conference where a special delegation of Senate and House members can work out a compromise crime bill. By virtue of his chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee, Celler would be head of the House conferees and would be in a powerful position to persuade them to reject Title II.

As Mrs. Kelly declared: "Mr. Celler . . . proposed that the bill be sent to a conference instead of the Senate version being immediately considered by the House. His proposal was generally interpreted as one man's attempt to work his will on a piece of legislation of great national importance.

"While crime continues to increase, while decent law-abiding citizens are denied safe streets to walk on, the maneuvering initiated by Mr. Celler goes on."

Celler's "soft-on-criminals" record is not all that New York's 10th District voters may wish to contemplate before casting their ballots on June 18. Celler has also been a major saboteur of effective legislation to protect our national security.

One former congressional aide who has been intimately involved with the workings of the Judiciary Committee says that "Celler blocked anything he could that pertained to security matters; he also introduced immigration bills that would have broken down many of the barriers against infiltration of foreign Communists into this country." Currently, Celler is said to be considering blocking the Senate's Omnibus Internal Security bill introduced by Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.).

Celler, in fact, has an extensive record of serving left-wing causes. In the 1940s and early '50s he was associated with numerous Communist-front organizations, including the American Youth for Democracy and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. In the 1950s, Celler spoke under left-wing auspices to repeal the Smith Act—a major piece of legislation responsible for the jailing of America's top Communists in the 1950s.

There is no doubt that Mrs. Kelly has a good chance to oust this powerful political figure. Of the 350 election districts now embraced by the new 10th, 106—comprising about half of the new 10th's 600,000 population—were formerly in Mrs. Kelly's old 12th District. On top of this, Robert M. Heller, a liberal who is expected to draw votes away from Celler, has also entered the race.

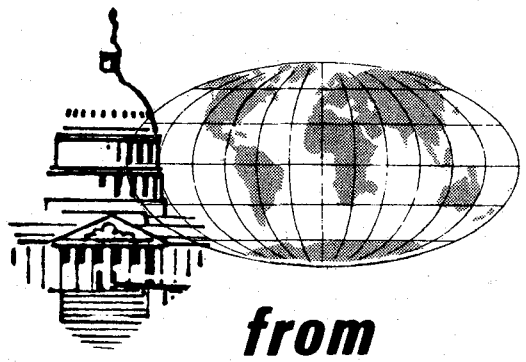
Mrs. Kelly still faces an uphill battle, but a victory by her on June 18 would strike a major blow for the country.

• The Internal Revenue Service may soon look into fund-raising activities on Celler's behalf by the tax-exempt Brookdale Hospital Center in Brooklyn, N.Y. Section 501 of the Revenue Code prohibits tax-exempt organizations from participating in or intervening in "any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office."

A letter sent to members of the hospital's Associate Board of Trustees by its chairman Murray Rabinowitz, however, would seem to violate this section. Rabinowitz, using the letterhead of the Brookdale Hospital Center, wrote: "Our colleague on the Board of Trustees, Emanuel Celler, will have a strong primary fight against him this year. . . .

"Mannie Celler has helped the hospital in so many ways—he has actively represented us in all our contacts in Washington and his guidance has been invaluable. . . . Now he needs our financial support for his primary campaign. Together with the Board of Trustees we hope to raise $10,000."

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

Tax Bill Troubles

Spurred by Republican and Southern Democratic members, the House last week soundly defeated by a 259-to-137 vote an Administration effort to reduce from $6 billion to $4 billion the expenditure reduction requested by the Senate as a price for LBJ's tax bill.

While passage of the tax bill now seems much more likely, many conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats will still not vote for the final package on the grounds that spending reductions are just not drastic enough. House action is scheduled the week of June 10.

Rep. Thomas Curtis (R.-Mo.), a recognized economic authority, says Administration spokesmen in testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee this year admitted even if the tax package were passed, inflation would be over 3 per cent.

Even with expenditure controls written in, says Curtis, the Administration could actually avoid putting them into effect. The Johnson Administration, Curtis points out, will only be in power the first six months of fiscal 1969 (July through December).

Thus, LBJ could continue to spend at an even higher level than fiscal 1968 and let the new President be faced in January with making the spending cuts that Congress has demanded.

Curtis also fears that the President will use the tax hike—not to dampen inflationary fires—but to expand domestic welfare programs.

For these and other reasons, the tax package still faces troubled waters.

Following are the 137 House members who voted for an amendment offered by Rep. James Burke (D.-Mass.) to reduce from $6 billion to $4 billion the spending cuts in the President's tax package. An asterisk (*) denotes Republicans.

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Annunzio
Ashley
Barrett
Bingham
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
*Button
Byrne, Pa.
Carey
Casey
Celler
Clark
Cohelan
*Conte
Corman
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
de la Garza
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Eilberg
Evans, Colo.
Fallon
Farbstein
Feighan
Flood
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
*Halpern
Hansen, Wash.
Hathaway
Hays
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Jones, Ala.
Karsten
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Leggett
Long, Md.
McCarthy
McFall
Madden
Mahon
Matsunaga
Minish
Mink
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara, Mich.
*O'Konski
O'Neill, Mass.
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Podell
Price, Ill.
Pucinski
*Reid, N.Y.
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Rodino
Ronan
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
*Ruppe
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Sisk
Smith, Iowa
Staggers
Steed
Sullivan
Teague, Tex.
Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Tiernan
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Wright
Yates
Young
Zablocki

Clark Scuttling Anti-Red Law

Obscured during the Senate debate on the omnibus crime bill was information revealing that Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark is apparently out to scuttle the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The SACB's function is to hold hearings to determine if certain groups are Communist front organizations. As a result of various Supreme Court decisions, the board has been relatively inactive since April 1966, but Congress attempted to breathe new life into the board last year.

A consensus was reached, however, that the SACB

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should go out of existence on June 30, 1969, unless the attorney general had initiated a proceeding before the board and a hearing had been held prior to Dec. 31, 1968.

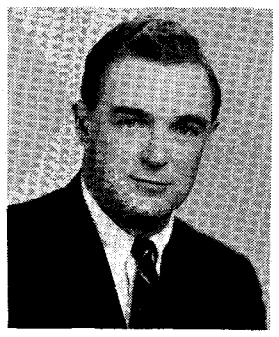
The new law was signed January 2 of this year, but the attorney general has not yet filed a single petition in a single case. If he "doesn't do something pretty soon," notes Sen. Everett Dirksen, the "board is going to be phased out."

Dirksen says there are at least 100 cases that could be certified to the board. Assistant Attorney Gen. Walter Yeagley, head of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division, is believed to have forwarded cases to Clark for him to act on. Nonetheless, Clark has not only decided not to start any new cases, but has called off the SACB's hearings on the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs.

It is no wonder a number of lawmakers feel Clark is out to kill off the Board.

Howe Praises Campus Disorders

U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II has apparently become the chief Administration apologist for civil disorders, particularly among students. While college militants across the country have been bringing, or attempting to bring, universities to their knees in ugly outbursts of violence, Howe insisted to the American Book Publishers Council last week that such student activism "may lead to desirable ends."



HOWE

The student demonstrators have made the most outrageous demands, usually leftist in orientation, but Howe believes the reforms sought often "prove to be substantial, desirable and long overdue."

Howe concludes that the demonstrators may be using strong-arm methods, but they are just "forcing open new and necessary avenues of communication to carry their ideas to the decision-making centers—to the faculty, the administration or the trustees—or all three."

Commissioner Howe also advises against "retribution" or "resentment" against college students, for this "will only aggravate" the problems that the students are steamed up about.

"In an ill-considered action two weeks ago," says Howe, "the U.S. House of Representatives voted to deny the benefits of federal education programs to persons convicted of rioting or judged by college authorities to be disruptive. This action is a triumph of resentment over wisdom." Howe fears punishment of this sort will "alienate the student generation even further."

America's education chieftain also stresses that we should not take any firm action aganst rioters amongst the poor. These civil disorders, he contends, are just expensive ways to "achieve social renewal." They will only subside, he says, "when those who take part in them no longer feel impelled to do so. . . ." In short, we should submit to the lawbreakers' demands.

In attempting to point the way toward America's salavation, Howe favorably quotes Michael Harrington's statement that to make the American system "work again will demand vigorous democratic conflict and vivid social imagination." Harrington, of course, is an out and out Socialist who thinks "vivid social imagination" means creating additional federal programs and greater federal control over the individual.

Acheson on Connally Reservation

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson's recent speech charging the United States with "barefaced aggression" against Rhodesia that is "unjustified by a single legal or moral principle" visibly upset the State Department types, but the United States is ignoring Acheson's advice to leave Rhodesia alone.

Last week, in fact, all 15 members of the United Nations Security Council unanimously approved a resolution ordering a complete trade and travel blockade of Rhodesia in a move designed to end that country's independence.

The full embargo extends the ban adopted by the Security Council in December 1966 on the sale of oil to Rhodesia and the purchase of nine main Rhodesian exports, including tobacco, asbestos, chrome, sugar, meats, hides and iron ore.

Acheson argues that this conspiratorial United Nations action against Rhodesia is unlawful and was never contemplated by the original U.N. charter. All Rhodesia has done, he says, is to declare its independence from Great Britain and to limit the extent of suffrage by property rights and educational achievement. This, somehow, has been construed as threatening the peace, even though Rhodesia is obviously not menacing any neighboring country.

"By a process that cannot be dignified as reasoning," states Acheson, Rhodesia is considered to have committed aggression because of her "failure to adopt internally the principle of universal suffrage plus the egalitarian doctrine of equally weighted votes as announced by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Baker v. Carr.*"

Rhodesian policy is not the only area in which Acheson finds himself in sharp disagreement with the present State Department. He also takes issue with the department's opposition to the famous Connally amendment.

The internationalists at State have long tried to get the United States to dump this amendment, which protects our vital interests from being automatically surrendered to the World Court. Under this reservation, the United States can decide for itself what cases it will permit the court to adjudicate.

Acheson was originally opposed to this amendment, but the activities of the United Nations have apparently made him change his mind.

Contemplating the possibility that the World Court might someday use the reasoning that far-out international law experts are using to attack the Rhodesian "aggression," Acheson recently stated he was "moved to salute the shade of Senator Tom Connally and thank him for his reservation, which at the time I regretted, providing that our acceptance of the World Court's jurisdiction should not apply to disputes with regard to matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States as determined by the United States."

Poor People's Hoax

Though bogged down in an ocean of mud at "Resurrection City," the Poor People's contingent is not so mired down that it can't engage in a little violence. Last week some 400 Indians, Mexican-Americans and Negroes besieged the Supreme Court and nearby areas for more than seven hours. The purpose: to get the High Court to reverse its finding permitting the State of Washington to prohibit the use of nets in salmon fishing.

During the protest, five windows of the Supreme Court building were smashed with rocks and eight arrests were made. Two of the persons taken into police custody had forcibly tried to lower the American flag on the pole in front of the court.

The day had begun with the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, chief of the march, leading a Resurrection City contingent to a Senate hearing on food programs and dispatching smaller groups to the Rayburn and Longworth office buildings. The Abernathy people then joined about 100 Indians and 200 Mexican Americans coverging on the Supreme Court, which is directly across the street from the U.S. Capitol.

As Abernathy, Henry Adams of the Indian contingent and Reies Lopez Tijerina, well-known extremist leader of the Spanish-speaking group, attempted to enter, the massive bronze doors of the court swung shut. Warned that there could be no demonstrations inside the building, protestors sprawled on the front steps chanting and singing. As Supreme Court officials and campaign leaders negotiated over admitting a delegation to present grievances, a small band of marchers tried to storm windows on the East Capitol Street side of the building. "Hurling rocks through the windows of a file room," reported the Washington *Evening Star*, "the band charged and a woman clerk inside yelled, 'They're coming in.'"

Several reportedly penetrated the room, but were forced out by police. Shortly thereafter, former SNCC leader Ray Robinson and his wife, both "disowned" by the leaders of the Poor People, lowered the flag to half staff.

Abernathy and Tijerina denied that the "poor people" had thrown rocks through the windows, with Tijerina insisting the stones may have been tossed by CIA agents bent on discrediting the campaign.

There were more "non-violent," "constructive" protests all during the week. After walking out Monday on an Agriculture Department cafeteria bill of $292.66, Abernathy Tuesday led a group back to pay the tab. On Wednesday, the Rev. Jesse Jackson took some 150 to 200 people to the same cafeteria. This time the bill came to $292.27 and Jackson gave the manager $72, saying, "We'll pay the rest when we can. We're poor people you know."

On Thursday, the day the High Court was stormed, several marchers attempted to cross Independence Avenue at First Street, S.E., during the rush hour. As police tried to brush them back to the sidewalk, several of the protestors began swinging freely at the men in uniform. As protestors were hauled away for disorderly conduct, Abernathy heatedly called it "the most flagrant abuse of police authority I have ever seen."

On Friday the Washington *Daily News* reported this vignette: "A [U.S.] Park policeman said he heard 'six rapid reports' like shots from an automatic in the vicinity of Resurrection early today, but an investigation of the area surrounding the campsite turned up nothing. Park police said they did not take their investigation inside Resurrection City because Southern Christian Leadership marshals will not allow them inside."

While the Poor People were making it uncomfortable for much of Washington, the campaign was still something less than a success. So far, Congress has not caved into Abernathy's demands and the Poor People leaders themselves were encountering some friction from dwellers and would-be dwellers of Resurrection City.

Reies Tijerina, who is still awaiting trial in connection with an armed raid on a county courthouse in New Mexico, protested last week that "poor whites were being pushed down, pushed out and discriminated against and humiliated" and that his Mexican-American land claims were being subordinated to SCLC strategy.

Barely had Abernathy begun to patch up the dispute with Tijerina, when 20 black militants stormed the Pitts Motor Hotel, where Abernathy normally lives, to demand that the "Poor People's leader" live in the mud at Resurrection City with his followers. Abernathy wasn't there at the time, but the Rev. Andrew Young, executive vice president of SCLC, explained with a straight face that "for some reason, they resent the fact that we have our headquarters here in the motel."

At week's end, things were looking even bleaker for the marchers. Dr. Murray Grant, the District Health Officer, claimed there was "almost a total lack" of sanitary facilities at the site. A voluntary doctor warned that the danger of an epidemic of such diseases as typhoid or dysentery was now running "very high."

But the most important doctor, Dr. Abernathy, said the foul weather would not drive the poor away. "We are prepared to stay here in the rain and mud," he claimed—and later left for the Pitts Hotel.

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POLITICS '68

OREGON

Sen. Eugene McCarthy's stunning upset win over Sen. Robert Kennedy in the Oregon contest captured the big headlines, but **Richard Nixon's thumping victory** in the Republican primary has probably cinched his nomination for the presidency.

NIXON

Nixon, scoring his fifth big primary win without a defeat, racked up an impressive 73 per cent of the vote, defeating energetic efforts on behalf of both Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller**, a non-candidate, and "semi-candidate" Gov. **Ronald Reagan**. A $500,000 campaign by Reagan supporters enabled the California governor, whose name was on the ballot, to win 23 per cent of the Republican vote—just about equal to his Nebraska victory.

Despite important backing from Gov. **Tom McCall**, Sen. **Mark Hatfield** and Rep. **John R. Dellenback** (R.-Ore.), Rockefeller was written in by only 5 per cent of the GOP voters. McCall, who has been a prominent member of the Rockefeller for President Committee but now is preparing to hop aboard the Nixon bandwagon, said Rocky's failure to get close to 10 per cent of the vote indicates he is "washing out fast." Sen. Hatfield, condemning Rocky for his "on-again, off-again" tactics, says Nixon will now be the next president.

On the Democratic side, McCarthy's victory proved that Kennedy does not have the **unstoppable machine** that everyone believed he possessed. And many feel the setback may turn out to be fatal to Kennedy's chances in Chicago. Others, however, say the New Yorker can still rebound with a smashing triumph in California. The McCarthy victory, incidentally, was the first time in 27 tries that a member of the Kennedy family has lost a primary or general election in over two decades.

The Oregon primary also saw the near-defeat of Sen. **Wayne Morse** by ex-Congressman Robert Duncan. Morse's narrow win, however, does not bode well for him in November. Many politicos are predicting that "moderate" GOP State Sen. **Robert Packwood**, a 35-year-old Portland attorney, will receive so many disaffected Democratic votes that he will beat the controversial Morse in November.

HUMPHREY AHEAD?

Even before the Oregon primary, the Kennedy campaign appeared to be going downhill.

A **state-by-state survey** published in Newsweek indicated that Bobby was dropping back and that Humphrey had closed to within 32½ delegates of clinching the nomination.

The magazine's tally showed Humphrey with 290 solid votes, and 989½ leaning his way, for a total of 1,279½. It takes **1,312 to win**. Kennedy was given 713½ "leaning" votes a loss of 150 since HHH entered the race. Another 280 were leaning to McCarthy, with 21½ for George Wallace and 327½ uncommitted.

The survey indicated that Humphrey had won a majority of delegates in **Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan** and that Chicago Mayor **Richard Daley** was ready to deliver his 100 Illinois votes. Newsweek described the solid-for-Humphrey votes as "his on the first ballot and as long as he needs them." Neither Kennedy nor McCarthy were given any "solid" votes.

A day after the Newsweek survey was published, Humphrey won an overwhelming victory in the first poll of Pennsylvania's vote-rich delegation. Kennedy strategists could muster so little support that they instructed their **handful of delegates** to vote uncommitted, leaving their candidate with a zero in the poll.

The tally gave Humphrey 83 votes, McCarthy 21, and left 20 uncommitted, along with one ballot for Harry Truman. The remaining 35 delegates were absent but Humphrey supporters were confident of at least half of those votes.

BOBBY'S TACTICS

As if Oregon weren't a severe enough setback, Sen. Robert Kennedy now faces a possible **Justice Department probe** of his campaign in California. According to Sen. **John Williams** (R.-De.), who has asked for the investigation, the Kennedy forces are probably operating in flagrant violation of the election laws.

KENNEDY

Williams was prompted into action when he read a column by **Carl T. Rowan** declaring that Kennedy is viewed as a "certainty to get California's 174 convention delegates" primarily because "Kennedy money and organization are just too powerful" for both McCarthy and Humphrey.

What particularly intrigued the Delaware solon were the comments regarding Kennedy's alleged **payment to registrars.** Rowan, for example, had written:

" 'With all his money, Kennedy is covering this state like a blanket. He just overwhelms McCarthy,' said Los Angeles Mayor **Sam Yorty**, a maverick Democrat who dislikes both Kennedy and McCarthy and who supported Richard Nixon in his 1960 Presidential race against the late John F. Kennedy.

"Yorty says Kennedy has spent at least $23,000 in recent days just to pay registrars **30 cents for every Negro** they put on the voting rolls.

"(It is an **old California** custom for politicians to augment the income of registrars by paying them a modest fee for each constituent registered at that candidate's request. In 1962, when the 'fee' was only 10 cents per voter, the state attorney general ruled that the practice was akin to bribing a public official and thus improper. There is talk of the McCarthy faction making a campaign issue of Kennedy's men reviving this practice.)

"Asked how he was sure Kennedy was paying to register Negroes, Yorty replied: 'Why, one of my top aides, **Willard Murray Jr.**, has taken a leave of absence so he can supervise handing out the money.'

"(Murray told me that the deputy registrars were not 'paid' in any illegal sense. He said they simply were told that they could collect up to 30 cents per person registered **to defray expenses.** The Kennedy camp also paid for transportation, meals, baby-sitters, and furniture and equipment used by the registrars, he added.)"

Williams strongly suggests that if the Rowan column is true the Kennedy forces are acting in an **illegal manner.** On April 29, 1965, the Delaware senator points out, "the Senate passed by a vote of 86 to 0 an amendment of which I was a sponsor specifically prohibiting anyone from paying or offering to pay or accepting payment either for registration to vote or for voting and **setting the penalty** at a fine of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment of not more than five years or both.

"This restriction is specifically applicable to registrations for general, special, or **primary elections** held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector or Member of Congress." An identical proposal was included in a House proposal and the bill was signed by the President on Aug. 6, 1965, Public Law 89-110.

Since the Kennedy claque definitely appears to be operating outside the law, Williams has asked Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark to "examine the allegations contained in the article . . . and after talking with the parties quoted advise me what steps are being taken."

THE DSG

The three contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination have decided that they have at least one common goal in this turbulent political year: a desire to support the ultra-liberal **Democratic Study Group** (DSG). Last week the DSG, composed of some 150 House Democrats, mailed a fund-raising letter bearing the signatures and photos of Vice President **Humphrey** and Sens. **Kennedy** and **McCarthy** to some 60,000 potential contributors.

Coming close on the heels of another DSG fund-raising solicitation, in which Sen. **Philip Hart** (D.-Mich.) and Negro activist **Bayard Rustin** suggested that virtually all Republican House candidates were "racists," (see Human Events, May 25, page 4), the latest letter describes the 1968 House contests as perhaps the "most critical" in the nation's history. The Humphrey-Kennedy-McCarthy appeal alleges that the GOP is spending over a million dollars in attempting to defeat the **31 incumbent Democrats** necessary to win House control.

THE PEACE BLOC

Communists, radical leftists and peaceniks are now working themselves into as much of a lather about Vice President Hubert Humphrey as they previously did about President Lyndon Johnson. Typical of the **leftists' anti-Humphrey feeling** is a memo to "peace activists" signed and circulated by Bella Abzug, Legislative Director of **Women Strike for Peace**. Other signers include Robert D. Bloom, New York Chairman of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee, Mary Clarke, chairman of California Women Strike, Jack Gore, chairman of Colorado Citizens Committee on Viet Nam and James Pino, chairman of the Michigan Conference of Concerned Democrats.

HUMPHREY

"Dear political peace activist," it begins, "We've been instrumental in forging a **peace and politics alliance** which has successfully 'dumped' Johnson. . . .

"Now it looks as though we must tackle 'Lyndon B. Humphrey.' "

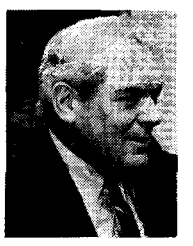
Both **Kennedy and McCarthy**, the letter says, "have Cold War thinking in their backgrounds," but "both of these men have reappraised their approach." Humphrey, on the other hand, is said to be a convinced anti-Communist, who drove the Communists out of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party, proposed anti-Communist legislation and who now wants to defend South Viet Nam.

The Vice President is reported to have "already molded a **dangerous alliance** of ultra-conservative, defense-aligned, Big Business—Meany led Big Labor—reactionary and entrenched political machines—and Southern racists. With this powerful coalition he stands ready to carry the country backwards."

The letter desperately urges supporters of both McCarthy and Kennedy to synchronize their efforts in a "**stop Humphrey campaign.**" If Kennedy and McCarthy do not kill each other off—and if the one who loses nationally supports wholeheartedly the one who wins—"then, and only then, Humphrey can be dumped."

KENTUCKY

Kentucky voters last Tuesday selected Democrat **Katherine Peden** and Republican **Marlow Cook** as the nominees to fill the Senate seat being vacated by GOP Sen. Thruston Morton.



COOK

Miss Peden, who announced her candidacy before Morton decided to retire, had been appointed by President Johnson as the only female member of the **Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders**, in what many suspect was an attempt to boost her stock as a Senate candidate. Previously Miss Peden had only been Kentucky Commerce Commissioner in the administration of Gov. Edward Breathitt.

Republican Cook, a Louisville judge, had lost the 1967 GOP gubernatorial primary to the more conservative Louie Nunn, who went on to succeed Breathitt as the state's **first Republican governor** in 70 years. But this time Cook handily won the Senate nomination by defeating former Rep. **Eugene Siler**, a conservative but an all-out dove on Viet Nam. Cook took a harder line and, despite their Viet Nam disagreements, had the support of **Sen. Morton.**

Cook is now expected to beat Miss Peden, whose support of the Kerner Commission's finding that the 1967 riots were caused by "**white racism**" has not gone down well with many Kentuckians.

FLORIDA

The big winner in Florida's May 28 Democratic senatorial runoff primary was the man not on the ballot, Rep. **Edward Gurney**. Gurney is the Republican Senate nominee and the primary last week was held to select his opponent in the contest to fill the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. **George Smathers**.

GURNEY

Runoff contestants were former Gov. **LeRoy Collins** and State Attorney General **Earl Faircloth**, with Collins appealing to urban liberal voters and Faircloth, a Miami liberal-turned-conservative, campaigning for rural votes. Collins, recently head of LBJ's civil rights-conscious Community Relations Service, won a hairbreadth victory with less than 51 per cent of the total vote.

Florida political observers were virtually unanimous in judging that Collins would be the **easier candidate** for Gurney to beat. Although he is taking nothing for granted and is campaigning hard, it is a good bet that Ed Gurney will follow the path laid by GOP Gov. Claude Kirk and become Florida's second Republican statewide officeholder since Reconstruction days.

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Reader Reveals Effectiveness of 5-Weeks-for-a-Dollar Program

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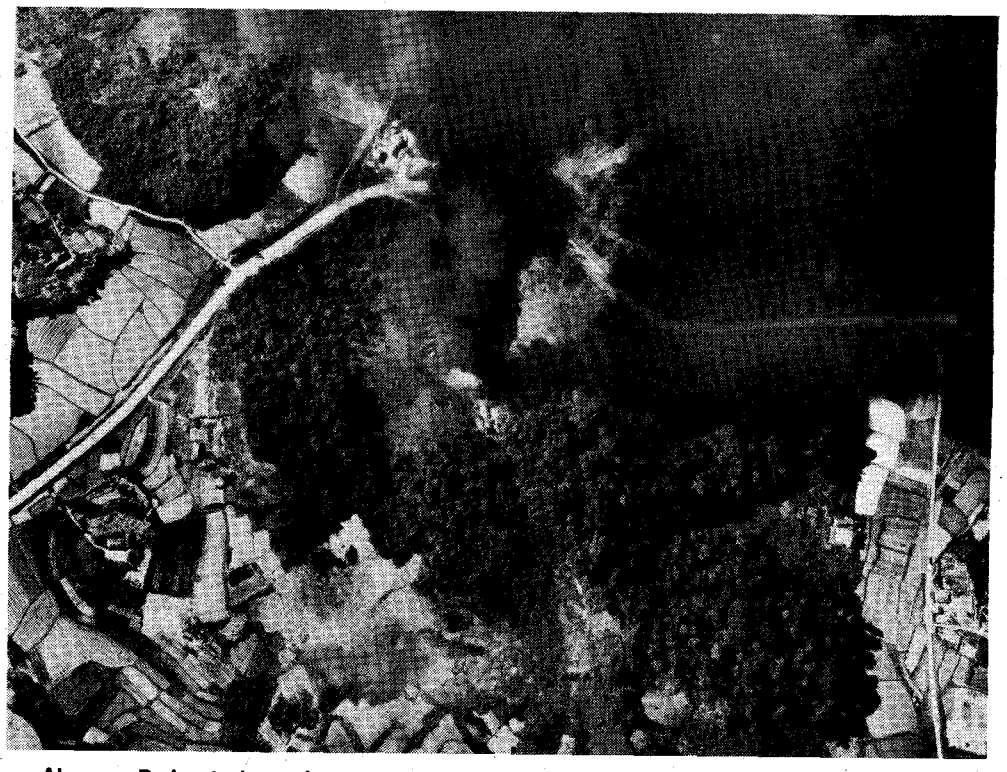

Above, a Red petroleum dump goes up in flames north of Hanoi before the renewed bombing restrictions went into effect. Gen. Lane notes that LBJ now has no excuse for prolonging the Paris "peace" talks.

Hanoi's Escalation Requires Resumption of U.S. Bombing

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

It is two months since President Johnson curtailed the bombing of North Viet Nam. In this period, the enemy has taken advantage of our restraint to escalate his assault on South Viet Nam. Our casualties have increased sharply to the highest rates of the war. South Viet Nam suffers massive destruction from wanton enemy attacks on the cities. Mortar shells are lobbed into centers of civilian population.

I say the President has had the answer to his peace move. His initiative has been rejected. If he does not promptly resume full scale bombing of North Viet Nam and initiate ground operations against enemy sanctuaries, his inadequacy must be manifest to friend and foe alike.

Any man who, in the face of these contemptuous responses from Hanoi, continues abjectly to pursue demeaning and fruitless negotiations with the enemy is no man of peace. He is rewarding the aggression which he affects to oppose. He is a beggar, pleading for a handout from Hanoi.

Such a posture cannot command the respect of Hanoi and it therefore cannot contribute to peace. Every hour that the President withholds our retribution for the intensified aggression of Hanoi, he rewards and extends the reach of war. No would-be conqueror can respect an adversary who will not act intelligently in his own self-interest.

Our ambassador at the Paris peace talks has said that we can expect protracted negotiation. He can foresee no early agreement to end the fighting. He seems content to pursue his frustrating course indefinitely.

We can not do that. In our present military posture, we are giving advantage to the enemy which wastes the lives of our fighting men. Whatever could be said for the President's bombing restriction as an initiative to invite a corresponding enemy de-escalation of the conflict, *nothing* can be said for it in the face of enemy escalation of his attack.

Hanoi is exploiting the bombing concession and pressing for a total cessation of bombing the North. It demands total U.S. withdrawal from South Viet Nam. It obviously has no intention of forsaking its drive to conquer South Viet Nam.

Can we believe that the continuation of negotiations under these circumstances is in the interest of peace? Or is it in the interest of politics?

It is a regrettable reality that the American people can be misled by their own public officials to place totally unwarranted hopes in peace negotiations. In Korea, they patiently submitted to two years of such "peace talks" while their sons were being killed at Heartbreak Ridge and on the battlefields. The continuation of peace talks becomes a political necessity because such talks soothe the public concern about our battlefield losses.

We can observe the same effect today. Despite the escalation of the fighting in South Viet Nam, despite the unyielding arrogance of the enemy negotiators in Paris, our people draw new hopes of peace from the fact that talks have been opened. Many have concluded that these talks will lead to peace. Powerful voices in our national news media sustain the delusion.

If the President can maintain this euphoria through election time, the appearance of trying for peace may save his party from defeat. But count at the rate of 500 per week the lives of young Americans who will be sacrificed in five months of this political gamesmanship. Count at five times that rate the Americans who will be wounded in battle in the same period. Count the death and destruction which the South Vietnamese people will suffer in these months.

Then ask yourself how long we can endure such leadership of our country.

□□□

MISSILE GAP—Eight years after John Kennedy used the "missile gap" to help win the presidency, Richard Nixon is readying the same issue. The former vice president will charge that the Johnson Administration has permitted the Soviets to drastically close the overwhelming strategic lead this country once held. At the time of the Cuban missile crisis, Nixon says, the U.S. held a 7-to-1 superiority over the Soviet Union. Now, he says, we have only a 2-to-1 edge, with Soviets fast gaining on us.

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Another Otto Otepka Case?

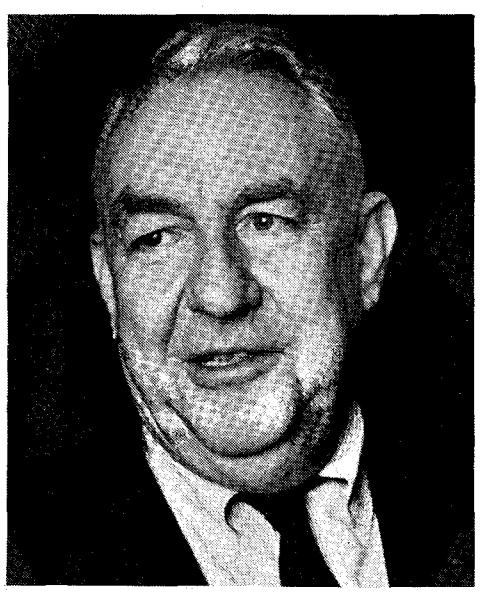
The Harassment of Charles Olson

By WILLARD EDWARDS

If it were not for other revelations about such victims of federal tyranny as Otto F. Otepka and his associates, the story of Charles F. Olson would be regarded as incredible in this land of freedom.

It is in some respects more tragic than the Otepka account, because a cruel weapon was employed in Olson's case, leaving a stigma which will always haunt him.

Olson, 47, an American citizen peacefully engaged in the pursuit of happiness until he ran afoul of bureaucratic arrogance, came to Washington, D.C., recently, seeking relief from a campaign of harassment by the government which employs him.



Along with GOP Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) took an intense interest in the Olson case.

For three days, he told his story to all who would listen and enlisted the interest of two powerful senators, Everett M. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) and Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D.-N.C.).

Then he returned to his home at 1341½ Liberty St., Morris, Ill., daring to be hopeful of justice in the future.

Olson talked to Otepka, the state department security chief who is still waging a fight for vindication after five years of federal persecution. The two men found much in common. They both got into trouble because they offended their superiors in the government by refusing to close their eyes to wrongdoing.

Both were fired from their jobs, both won reinstatement when the charges were proved false. But bureaucratic vengeance continues to pursue them.

Otepka dared to expose conditions in the State Department which protected security risks. Olson touched an equally sensitive nerve in the Defense Department where he was employed. His questioning of defense contracts infuriated superiors who were nervous about congressional probes of waste, inefficiency and potential fraud in the Pentagon's multi-billion dollar spending programs.

The two men are alike in mildness of manner, keen intelligence, and a fierce patriotism which inspires them to fight back against the overwhelming forces of "big brother" government. Both recoil from the thought of being classified as martyrs but are willing to take the chance of being crushed in a battle against injustice.

Olson is an electronics engineer, a grade 12 ($12,250 a year) employe of the United States Army's ammunition procurement and supply agency in Joliet, Ill.

Until he took this post in March, 1965, his life had been comparatively placid. He had previously been employed by the government for five years in the 50's as a maintenance engineer on an atomic warhead project, receiving a top secret security clearance and the highest ratings. He worked in private industry for five years before returning to federal employ. The documented record of his professional career reveals him as a trusted and respected figure, highly commended by every employer for whom he worked.

His new duties consisted of inspection trips around the country, evaluating munitions contracts together with a team of other experts. He was extremely conscious of the fact that these contracts were for supplies to equip young Americans fighting in Viet Nam. As a youth, he had served overseas in World War II as a medical corpsman. For three years, he had cared for wounded men and seen them die. He wanted no waste of taxpayers' dollars or costly delays in the fulfilment of government contracts.

On his first trip, Olson pointed out how a $250,000 saving could be accomplished on a contract. On another tour, he made recommendations designed to speed up the manufacture of weapons. The record shows that the contractors in these cases acknowledged the soundness of his suggestions but Olson found himself quickly in trouble with his bureaucratic superiors.

He was advised to approve contracts without scrutinizing them too closely. He was only increasing paper-work, reflecting upon the efficiency of higher-ups, and getting a reputation as a "trouble-maker."

Olson refused to "go along." He continued to note defects. After a series of warnings, he was suddenly, in November, 1966, dismissed on charges of being absent without leave.

With the aid of his pastor, the Rev. David Zimmerman of St. Thomas Episcopal church, Olson secured legal aid and fought the dismissal. He and his family, a wife and three sons, endured the loss of his income for six months. Then, at a hearing in Chicago, he proved his contention that the charges were without basis. He was ordered reinstated by the Civil Service commission with full back pay and Washington rejected the agency's appeal against this ruling.

It should have been a moment of triumph. But the government now promptly wielded its most dreaded instrument to punish refractory employes—a charge of mental instability.

On his first day back at work, he found that he had not been forgiven. A fellow worker told him, "We got rid of you once and we'll do it again."

Instead of being returned to his engineering duties, he was assigned to a clerical job, filing meaningless papers. Other employes were hostile or afraid to speak to him.

The pattern of vengeance was familiar. He was isolated and given demeaning duties just as Otto F. Otepka and his associates, in a more celebrated case, were penalized by the State Department for refusing to remain silent about wrongdoing.

The Defense Department, in Olson's case, now decided to use the weapon of reprisal most dreaded by government employes. It ordered Olson last January to submit to a psychiatric examination.

In his entire career, up to this point, no question had ever been raised about Olson's mental fitness. He had served for three years in military service in World War II and later, as an engineer on a top-secret atomic project where every employe was rigidly examined. In private industry, he had been subjected to exhaustive psychological testing, receiving superior ratings.

He was surprised when the psychiatrist dismissed him after a half-hour of questioning. Such examinations are usually lengthy and detailed. Promptly, the verdict came through. Olson was a "chronic paranoid," an all-embracing term covering delusions of grandeur or of persecution, indicated by suspicion or distrust of others.

Apprised of this rush job, Chairman Sam Ervin Jr. (D.-N.C.), of the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, on April 2 wrote Chairman John W. Macy Jr. of the Civil Service commission:

"The speed with which Mr. Olson's agency attempted to obtain a psychiatric disability retirement after the Civil Service commission restored him to his position, suggests the commission inspectors might look into the management problems in this office."

The commission's response on April 9 seemed to admit doubt of its own psychiatrist's report. After reviewing the medical finding, Olson was advised, it had been suggested that another psychiatrist look him over "so that no injustice should be done."

Olson, on the advice of counsel, refused to submit to another examination. He came to Washington seeking aid from Congress, the court of last appeal for fugitives from government oppression. Sen. Dirksen, after studying a full report on the case, joined Ervin in interceding for Olson.

Why has Olson, like Otepka, fought against seemingly hopeless odds? His wife, Ruth, in an eloquent letter, remarked that "it takes a certain type of courage to endure this type of punishment."

"The good Lord made me what I am and I can't sit down and take this quietly," said Olson. "I've got to fight what I regard as injustice because there are too many others being treated similarly."

The files of the Ervin subcommittee confirm that Olson's treatment is typical of the harassment given scores of government employes who dare to speak up against waste or corruption around them.

(Copyright 1968, Chicago Tribune)

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KARL MUNDT LIBRARY—Cornerstone-laying ceremonies were held May 19 for the Karl E. Mundt Library, which is being constructed on the campus of General Beadle State College, Madison, S.D. The main speaker was Robert T. Stevens, secretary of the army under President Eisenhower and a longtime friend of the conservative Republican senator from South Dakota. Other guests included retired Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, Gov. Nils Boe and Mrs. Douglas MacArthur. The library, which will be opened in September, will serve as the college's main library and will also house Mundt's personal archives.

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CENSUS LIMITATION—Led by Rep. Jackson E. Betts (R.-Ohio), 28 congressmen are co-sponsoring a bill to make it possible for citizens to refuse to tell the census taker anything except name, address, age, sex and race. Answers to all other questions in 1970 should be voluntary, said Betts.

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'Special Project QQ&C (Quick, Quiet and Confidential)'

How the Agriculture Department built exaggerated case for meat inspection act

From the Richmond *News Leader*

For several months, reporters from *The National Observer* have been investigating charges made by Department of Agriculture spokesmen of inadequate meat inspection in intrastate meat packing plants that spurred Congress to enact the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967. Their investigation turned up evidence that many of these charges were without foundation in fact, although the Department of Agriculture has categorically denied any culpability.

But *The Observer*'s men were dead right, as the memorandum detailing a "Special Project QQ&C (Quick, Quiet and Confidential)" reprinted in the box below will show. This remarkable document was drafted by Wilbur F. Michael, head of the Dallas-area compliance and evaluation staff. It was sent to three field inspectors in Dallas, Denver, and San Antonio.

Its text leaves no room for doubt that the horror story of unsanitary conditions, tainted meats, and rat-infested packing plants told to Congress was a put-up job.

A spokesman for the Department of Agriculture in Washington has reluctantly acknowledged that the contents of Mr. Michael's memorandum substantially followed instructions given by telephone from Washington to all field officers. *The National Observer*, by the way, had to take legal action to acquire the copy of the memorandum reproduced on this page, as well as preliminary texts of the field reports used to rig a horror story.

To be sure, Mr. Michael cautioned the field inspectors to "be factual in your reports." But the explicit instructions listed in his memorandum left no room for doubt that the inspectors, by whatever means necessary, were to find the worst possible examples of conditions "that indicate a need for tighter inspectional controls."

The federal inspectors, who had no jurisdiction at the time over state plants, were to use whatever guile necessary to keep plant personnel from learning of the real reason for their visits.

They were to look for specific instances of contamination, deceptive packaging, and the like. They were to use words "with impact, such as cancer-eye, pus, manure, disease, excreta, cockroaches, rats, flies, loose paint, cobwebs, rust, grease . . . instead of other more acceptable terms." And their reports had to be submitted quickly; congressional hearings on the Wholesome Meat bill were already in progress. The memorandum bore the date of July 27, and the reports were to be relayed to Congress by August 2.

The field inspectors were obedient. The reports cited nauseating conditions at intrastate plants they had visited, such as, "The walls were covered with grime, grease, and mold. One beef carcass had an infected brisket and another had a large knee joint which appeared to be arthritic. A butcher was boning out a beef round which has sour bone and the meat near the bone was greenish colored."

Another inspector reported on a Texas plant, "Edible meat drums were very dirty, contaminated with rust and the inside showed a very poor job of washing. . . . Flies were swarming on the back dock. . . ."

State inspectors denied that any such conditions could be observed in the plants under their jurisdiction; some plant owners reported that they were not even aware that federal inspectors had visited their plants.

The reports on 183 plant "inspections" in 38 States from federal field inspectors were sent to Washington, where they were edited carefully by a ghost writer intent on making the intrastate plants look as bad as possible. The reports supposedly represented general conditions in 15,000 of the nation's intrastate plants.

When publicized, the contents of the reports shocked the nation; momentum gathered behind the Wholesale Meat Act of 1967, then under consideration by Congress. The rest is history; both House and Senate passed the bill by overwhelming margins, and it was signed into law by President Johnson on December 15.

So now all intrastate, as well as interstate, meat packing plants are subject to federal standards, despite the fact that little if any real evidence exists that these intrastate plants engaged in the appalling practices described in such sickening terms by federal inspectors.

It was a put-up job, plain and simple, intended to railroad legislation through Congress, not on its merits, but simply on the grounds that the Department of Agriculture thought it best to bring all meat packers under the federal eye.

In view of the overwhelming evidence, so painstakingly collected by *The National Observer*, that the Department of Agriculture gulled Congress and deceived consumers in its efforts to obtain legal means of furthering its empire-building activities, Congress may wish to conduct another investigation. This investigation should be directed toward determining which officials at Agriculture countenanced this incredible attempt to sell Congress and the public a greatly overstated, if not patently false, case.

This is one time that Big Brother needs more than a crack on the knuckles.

Agriculture Dept. Memo

Here, from The National Observer, is a copy of incredible Department of Agriculture memorandum outlining the procedures for obtaining the derogatory reports on meat processing. As a result of these scare reports, the Wholesome Meat Act was passed by Congress last year.

Form CA&E-600 (3-68)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
CONSUMER AND MARKETING SERVICE
Compliance & Evaluation Staff
500 S. Ervay, Dallas, Texas 75201

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL — TOP PRIORITY — DATE: July 27, 1967 — RUSH PROJECT

TO : All Dallas Area Compliance Officers

FROM : Wilbur F. Michael, Officer in Charge

SUBJECT: Special Project Q2&C (Quick, Quiet and Confidential)

Wilbur F. Michael

Effective immediately, we are to discontinue all other C&ES work and devote full time (plus any overtime necessary to effectively complete this assignment) to "Project Q2&C." Overtime will not be authorized for travel.

The information we will gather at Non-Federally Inspected (NFI) plants in this effort is to be used at Congressional hearings now being held in connection with the proposed amendment (HR-6168) to the Meat Inspection Act.

For the purpose of this project, the following areas of responsibility are assigned: Barrett - Colorado and Oklahoma; Halverson - Arkansas, and Ramos - Texas and Louisiana.

We have been designated to make this "survey" since our presence in NFI plants would attract less attention than any other USDA personnel, as we are normally in and out of these plants.

THIS PROJECT CONSISTS OF 3 PARTS, AS FOLLOWS:

1. You are to gain entrance into NFI plants (slaughter and/or processing) under the guise of (a) meeting local inspection personnel to gain cooperation in our normal C&ES work, (b) discussing our denaturing and decharacterizing requirements with management, (c) etc. This should be done quickly and quietly in such a manner that no one is aware of the real purpose of your visit. This will require a very discreet approach and may tax your imagination. Other approaches used to gain entrance to NFI plants are: (1) requesting management's permission to check their freezers for product bearing Federal Marks of Inspection that might be forged or counterfeit. (2) explaining to and showing management how Federal Marks of Inspection must be obliterated before used containers are filled.

The sole purpose of your visit is to observe, and for each plant visited, submit a written report direct to B. H. Rorem, Acting Director, C&ES, USDA, South Agric. Building, Room 2614, Washington, D. C. 20250, (copy to me), listing any deficiencies noted that indicate a need for tighter inspectional controls. You are not to limit your observations to the following, but examples of things to be checked are: (a) Plant Facilities - window and door screens, drainage, types of floors, ceilings and walls, lighting, welfare facilities, equipment, etc., (b) Environmental Sanitation - Availability of sterilizers for equipment used on diseased or contaminated meat, hand washing facilities, cleanliness of employees and their clothing, spitting on floor, cleanliness of equipment (describe type of dirt or filth, stipulate amount only if excessive), etc., (c) Inspectional Procedures - lack of or inadequate ante and post mortem inspection, temperaturing of cooked product containing pork, labeling controls, etc., (d) 4-D type Animals Held in Livestock pens for Slaughter - Cancer-Eye, downers, deads, cripples., (e) Plant Operations Procedures - meat and/or product in contact with floors, contamination of carcasses with manure, pus, dirt, etc., in dressing operation, deceptive packing, etc.

Plants selected for this survey will be those in which you would expect to find the most discrepancies. In other words, look for "horrible examples."

2. In 1963, Dr. H. R. Clarkson prepared a report concerning a comprehensive fall and winter survey made in 1962 by MID of intrastate meat packers and processors in 48 states. Their report showed there was widespread use of false or deceptive labels or packing and that much intrastate meat contained diseased tissues and spoiled, putrid, filthy materials.

Pleas submit a report to me stating what each of the states you are concerned with, has accomplished in the way of corrective measures (as new laws, etc.) since 1963.

3. You are to each collect a minimum of five retail samples of NFI produced meat food product. If time permits and you find additional products you feel should be sampled, feel free to do so. It is expected that most of this sampling will need to be done on Saturday and Sunday. This will leave the weekdays through next Wednesday for your survey of NFI plants. Incidentally, all of this work must be completed by Wednesday, August 2, 1967.

The samples are to be AIR MAILED to the Meat Inspection Laboratory, U. S. Court and Customhouse Building, 1114 Market Street, St. Louis, Missouri 63101. You should select product you believe might be violative. Be sure you get labels if available. Labels should be attached to the 6th copy of the MI-422, which will be mailed directly to Rorem. You keep the 7th copy and mail 5th copy directly to me. Original and all other copies should accompany the sample. If hamburger is sampled, be sure it is produced in a meat plant and not ground by the retail store. Purchase and use dry ice you feel necessary to pack with your sample. Contact your nearest MI office for sample mailing containers, bags, etc.

Attached is a specimen copy of MI-422 to be used as a guide in their preparation. Be sure all information shown on the specimen is included. In block #3, show "Non-Inspected-1" for your first sample, "Non-Inspected-2" for your 2nd sample and so on.

Use the attached chart to determine the parttcular analyses you desire Laboratory to do. Desired analyses not printed in blocks on the MI-422 should be written in the "other" blocks.

Also attached for your use is a paper listing "Analysis Which the MI Laboratories are Able to Perform," including species determination and coagulation tests to determine highest temperature attained in cooked products. Suggest this analysis be made on smoked sausage to determine if possible live trichinae have been destroyed.

In your reports of plant "surveys" it is suggested you use dramatic, graphic terms with impact, such as cancer-eye, pus, manure, disease, excreta, cockroaches, rats, flies, loose paint, cobwebs, rust, grease, overhead dripping sewer lines, toilet facilities, mice, flour, excess water, chemicals, excess fat, etc., instead of other more acceptable terms. Of course, you must be factual in your reports. Try to find evidence of contaminants on the meat if possible.

Please keep in daily contact with this office and give us telephone contact points, etc., where you might be reached.

Enclosed are pre-addressed "franks" for the St. Louis Laboratory.

I am to phone Mr. Rorem next Monday to report our progress.

Enclosures - 4

July 1 Deadline

New Rush on U.S. Gold?

By PAUL SCOTT

Put a big circle around July 1 on your calendar—for it is one of the most important deadlines now facing President Johnson and Congress.

That's the date that the central bankers of Europe have given President Johnson to obtain passage of his 10 per cent surcharge tax.

If the long delayed tax boost isn't enacted into law by then, these powerful international money men say they will be forced to start "cashing in" part of their $16 billion American for U.S. gold.

This drastic financial move, if ever undertaken, could touch off a run on the dwindling U.S. gold reserves by private foreign holders of another $15 billion.

President Johnson gave this alarming report to Democratic congressional leaders during a recent White House meeting at which he urged immediate action on the combination $10 billion tax boost and the $6 billion expenditure cut package.

With the U.S. government gold holdings now down to $10.5 billion, the President warned, any panic "cashing in" of U.S. dollars could force him to either suspend gold sales or devalue the dollar.

Looking the grimmest he has in weeks the President pleaded with the legislators for the swift legislative action needed to head off this financial disaster, stating:

"There can be no further delay on the tax bill. The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board tells me we are in the midst of the most serious financial crisis since 1931—the depths of the great depression—but this time we are faced with inflation, not recession.

"If there is not a tax boost passed by the first of July, we shall face a new run on our gold. The Central Bankers of Europe have warned me that if we don't act by then, they will be forced to begin cashing in American dollars for gold."

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CONGRESSIONAL STRATEGY— "The only way you can get a tax cut immediately, Mr. President," said House Majority Leader Carl Albert, Okla., "is to throw the administration's full weight behind the Senate-House conferees' tax-spending package."

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INSIDE INTELLIGENCE?— The professional gamblers in Las Vegas are quoting Humphrey 8-to-5 over Kennedy and Nixon 2-to-1 over Rockefeller. It's even money on November.

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Soviet Spy Expertise Endangers U.S.

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

The French news signals the dangers to us in all attempts to belittle the FBI, smear Director J. Edgar Hoover and lull us to sleep about Soviet espionage in the United States.

We are hopelessly brainwashed if we fail to recognize in this campaign much of what Soviet-entrapped President Charles de Gaulle is experiencing.

When French Secret Service Col. Pierre Thyraud Vosjoly came to see me in New York on January 17 I urged him to write the expose of Soviet agents at top French levels published in *Life* magazine April 26. I knew Col. Vosjoly officially and favorably and he risked a great deal in agreeing to write this, but he was properly reluctant, as a foreigner, to include in print any parallels in our own country.

The prize and priceless information needed by any enemy nation is: What are this country's intentions and capabilities? That requires penetration at the decision-making, policy-making level.

Every government is penetrated by hidden enemy agents, the name for which is traitor. Every counterintelligence service operates on the basic assumption that the sole question is: To what extent?

Executed Soviet intelligence Col. Oleg V. Penkovsky confided to British agent Greville Wynne, his Moscow trial co-defendant, the appalling scope of the Kremlin's British government penetrations by its undercover use of Britishers.

The senior Soviet KGB officer known as Maj. Gen. Anatoli Dolnytsin exposed, when he defected to the West, both Harold A. R. (Kim) Philby, the master British spy, and George Paques, the NATO spy now in a French jail. Polish defector Col. Michael Goleniewski also exposed the Britisher.

British traitor Philby, when interviewed recently in Moscow, was asked by the London *Daily Express* how he got to the top of British intelligence. Philby's answer may sound casual but is enormously revealing: "I just arranged things so that I was invited."

Former CIA Chief Allen W. Dulles has stated that "the Soviet had over 40 high-level agents in various Washington departments and agencies during World War II. At least this many were uncovered; we don't know how many remained undetected."

GARY W. RUSSELL

The Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., has long been an espionage center. Columnist Taylor notes that the Reds are extremely skillful in concealing their agents in sensitive positions—as the case of "Kim" Philby aptly illustrates.

It would be inconceivable to any experienced intelligence manager that there are any fewer in place in Washington today. And, believe me, they are no easier to uncover than Kim Philby.

I have sat with Philby in meetings on U.S. espionage operations, most of them planned to block our Soviet enemy. His wife (uninvolved in his spying) was from Seattle. He was completely at home in the United States. I found Kim Philby able, imaginative and attractive.

His rank at the top of British intelligence had given him access to all secret U.S. plans and policies involving British interests or requiring British cooperation. It seems impossible to imagine that the Kim Philby I knew was a Soviet spy for 30 years and was revealing every plan to the Kremlin.

If you are mystified about many of our immense errors or failures in foreign policy or national defense, please realize that only part of these are due to stupidity or miscalculations. If you are shocked by how often we are the victim of surprise by the Red enemy, remember that, inevitably, traitorism is at work.

On May 21 I attended a lecture by an American famous for his controversial book about President Kennedy's assassination. Instead of even touching the material, he delivered a slick, insidious, unconscionable tirade against the FBI. If you hear the FBI slandered, or J. Edgar Hoover smeared, by lectures or demonstrators or be less overt means, by on guard.

Remember, Communist imperialism will never act in the open if it can dispose of resistance in a hidden way.

The Kremlin's No. 1 target for espionage, confusion, bewilderment, internal warfare and subversion is America—the only nation the Soviet fears.

The FBI is our first—and only—defense against exactly the penetrations that entrapped President de Gaulle and let Philby "arrange things" as he did in England and proceed with the further entrapment of the United States.

Our country is being systematically deceived on a monumental scale by brainwashing and subversion and unless we back the FBI we have no more chance than a dead duck in a bag.

(Copyright 1968, United Feature Syndicate)

About Black Power—And Racism

By MORRIE RYSKIND

In a number of letters from blacks—Negroes is an offensive term to them—I'm accused of racism. Here is a composite: "You didn't like Dr. King, and you disapprove of Dr. Abernathy, Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael and anyone else who advocates 'Black Power.' Though you are a member of a minority group yourself, you show no sympathy for other minorities seeking their place in the sun. You want only Uncle Toms."

Well, though I'm Jewish, I do not hold that every Jew is, *ipso facto*, a noble human being. There are Jewish hoodlums, thieves and chiselers, as in every other group. And I don't think that being a member of a "minority" entitles them to any special privileges.

The "Black Power" I admire is that shown by Willie Mays, my favorite ballplayer, who earned his place by his ability, and not because someone came around with a quota list and demanded he play left field because he was colored and his race had suffered indignities. You'd have to root for Willie even if he were white.

Similarly, I go for Hank Aaron of the Atlanta Braves, whom it's always a pleasure to watch. But I still retain my fondness for Babe Ruth, who was white. And I didn't root for Sandy Koufax just because he was a fellow-religionist.

Archie Moore stands high as a boxer in my book—but even higher as a man. He was chosen as "Mr. San Diego" last year by a community grateful to him for taking colored youngsters off the streets and teaching them that earning your way is a far more satisfactory life than looting. Don't call him Uncle Tom, incidentally, to his face. He still has a punch.

I also admire George Schuyler, the famous colored writer it has been my privilege to know for over 30 years. No man has more consistently preached the now-derided "American Way." And if you think I've been rough on the blackmail of "Black Power," you ought to read Mr. Schuyler on it.

I didn't like the methods of Bugsy Siegel—who was Jewish—anymore than those of Dutch Schultz and the Capones—who weren't. Nor do those tactics appeal to me more when they are employed by blacks.

Right now in Washington, for example, colored gangs have suggested to white storekeepers that they might protect themselves against possible nonviolent arson and looting by displaying a lithograph of Dr. King in their windows. The cost is only $50; and for an additional $30 a month, they will provide all-year protection. . . . The late Mr. Schultz made a pretty penny by offering similar insurance against "accidents" to New York merchants.

I didn't like the Rosenbergs—who were Jewish—spying on us for Russia. Nor did I like the clandestine activities of Alger Hiss—who is Gentile.

By the same token, I think little of Dick Gregory's talk to the graduating class of Yale early this year: "Henry Ford hired 6,000 niggers (sic) in two days. Why do you think he hired them? The fire got too close to the Ford plant. Don't scorch the Mustangs, Baby! Do you realize how long it would have taken through peaceful channels to get 6,000 black folk hired and through those tests?"

Obviously, those 6,000 must have included many totally unversed in the knowhow required to work even on an Edsel. But that doesn't matter, apparently.

And more from that same speech: "We just got an insane law to say you can't burn an American flag. I say, what in the . . . is an American flag but a . . . rag like all the other flags all over the world? I'm not interested in rags."

Dr. Abernathy talks with God—he says—but when he speaks with us mortals, he sounds just like Gregory. "We will raise hell!" he declares, unless Congress gives him what he demands.

I think sadly of Oscar Joel Bryant, the young Negro policeman recently slain here in Los Angeles, shot down by black gunmen while he was trying to prevent a Negro shop from being looted. And it is my belief that the young hero died for America, and that he did more for his country and his race than all the Abernathys, Carmichaels and Gregorys put together.

And if that's bigotry, make the most of it.

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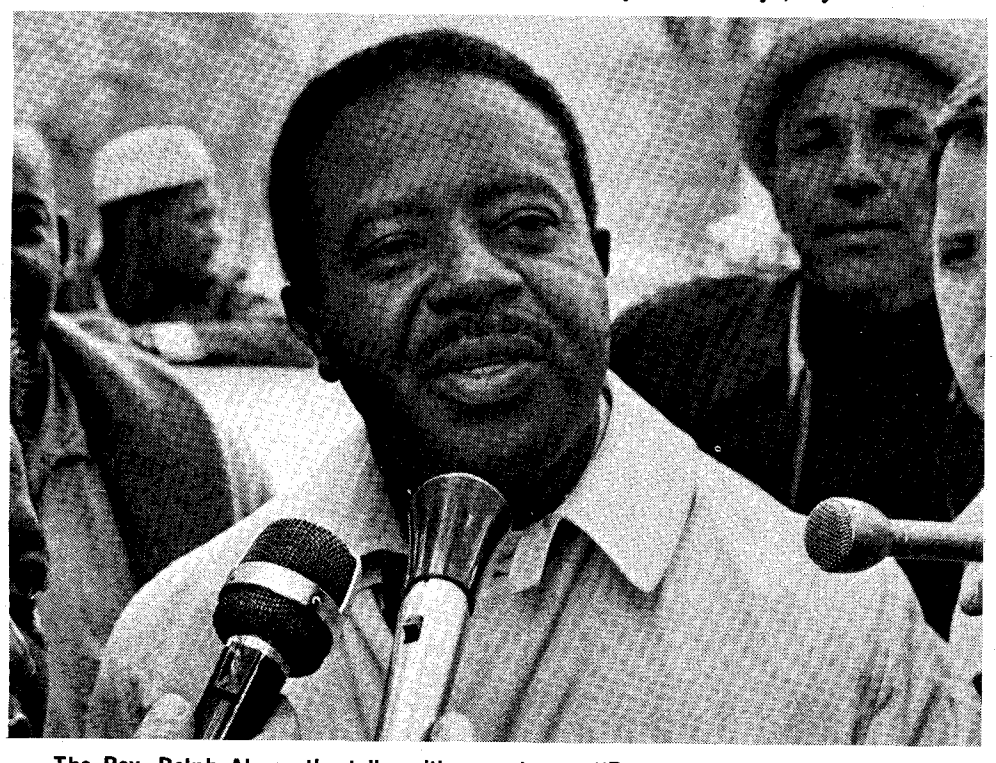

The Rev. Ralph Abernathy talks with reporters at "Resurrection City." The Southern Christian Leadership Conference chieftain says his "city" will stay until he gets what he wants from Congress.

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Why Ronald Reagan Has a Chance

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Clifton White, the political wizard who conjured up the Goldwater nomination in 1964, would like to pull another out of the hat—this time for Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. He tells me it's possible because:

In his still-hunt for convention delegates, White finds that Republicans have a number of reasons for wanting to "stay loose" until the crucial rollcalls at Miami Beach. Many regret that they agreed far in advance to pledge their votes for Richard Nixon in 1960 and for Barry Goldwater in 1964. Those nominations were predestined and they might as well have been conducted by mail order.

This year the delegates feel as confident as they did in 1952 that the choice of a candidate can determine victory in November. Then as now, a discredited Democratic Administration presided over an unpopular war and a "mess in Washington," but it always takes something extra to overthrow the majority party. It was cruel business to set aside the sentimental favorite of the GOP, Sen. Robert Taft for Dwight Eisenhower but what was done can be done again.

There isn't any popular hero waiting the Republicans this year, yet Clif White finds the party activists so avid for a winner they don't intend to let sentiment for old favorites stand in the way. Dick Nixon has succeeded to Taft's title of "Mr. Republican," and the liberals of the once-omnipotent Eastern Establishment have never given up on Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. But if a third choice took on the timely semblance of winnability, White believes the delegates would be in a mood to stampede.

Ronald Reagan's credentials as a dark horse are getting a close reading as he carries them around the country in his chartered jet. He is, first of all, the pleasing, photogenic apostle of the "Eleventh Commandment" which forbids speaking ill of another Republican. Nixon and Rockefeller are come-latelys to that gospel. Reagan has lives by it ever since entering politics, and it is the reason he was able to unite the anti-Democrats in California.

Reagan brings along with him the theory and the proof that politicians have made their profession seem needlessly complicated. He became governor with no administrative experience. He has succeeded by going ahead on the assumption that the biggest state in the Union is better run on rules of "common sense" than on fancy formulas.

Reagan turned up in Washington recently when the slugger of the Washington baseball club, Frank Howard, was telling sportswriters almost the same thing about home-run hitting. Howard said he was poling homers because he'd given up trying to be "scientific" and was just "taking three good rips at the ball." Reagan has been that kind of a governor.

He has also been taking "good raps" at subjects which Nixon and Rockefeller have approached with "scientific" caution. The former Vice President and the New York governor have retreated into complexity with their statements about the Viet Nam war and the Paris peace conference.

Reagan "adviser" Clif White looks for a multi-ballot GOP convention with many delegate shifts.

Reagan has been saying to audiences and press conference, that we should "kick the hell out of 'em" in Viet Nam, and lay down a put-up.or-shut-up ultimatum to the Communist negotiators in Paris. While in Washington the other day he told us frankly that he was "in disagreement" with the Poor People's encampment a few blocks away, and that coercive lobbying was "not the way" to get things done in this country.

Reagan's common sense is so refreshing that it actually takes on a heroic aura. It is something that the Republican delegates might well regard as a rainbow promise of victory. Clif White, who strong-armed the Goldwater nomination, is playing this one with his fingertips. It's that delicate.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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NEW REAGAN BACKERS—Illinois backers of the California governor have formed Illinois Citizens for Reagan, Inc. (106 E. Center St., Eureka, Ill.). Headed by Eureka lawyer and Reagan college chum Samuel Harrod, the group includes Dixon newspaper publisher Robert Shaw and Rockford industrialist Clayton Gaylord.

When a Liberal Attacks Liberals

The activities of many self-styled "intellectuals"—particularly their virulent anti-Americanism—have gone so far that even many liberals are protesting. Midge Decter, a senior editor of Harper's *magazine and a contributor to such liberal publications as* Commentary *and* Partisan Review, *is one of these worried protestors. Writing in the April issue of* Harper's *on "Anti-Americanism in America," she made the following concluding points:*

With all due respect . . . to the trials and frustrations of the '60s, the response of the intellectual community to those trials and frustrations has been both disastrous in itself and a depressing omen for the future.

At precisely a time when the values for which this community believes itself to stand—the enlargement of intellectual possibility and the devotion to standards of excellence—are being most threatened from the outside, it has responded only in kind, by threatening them further from the inside.

When a historian like Staughton Lynd proclaims Hanoi to be the model for the achievement of freedom by small nations, he is perverting both the use of his intellectual discipline and his mandates as a thinking man.

When the organizers of a movement to withhold federal income tax in protest against the war draw up a statement which identifies the United States with Nazi Germany, they are, while pretending to appeal to the moral sense, perverting that sense.

When Susan Sontag, wishing to express her horror at the fruits of modern technology, launches an attack upon the Faustian spirit of the whole of Western civilization ending with the observation that "the white race . . . [is] the cancer of humanity," she undermines the very ground on which she herself is entitled to speak or write.

When Andrew Kopkind, a highly talented young journalist, finds in the fascist tactics wielded by a group of Negroes at a conference of radicals a necessary—finally even a hopeful—experience, he reveals a carelessness toward the virtues of freedom that a writer may indulge in only at his peril.

When Robert Brustein, dean of the Yale drama school, indiscriminately and in a tone of deepest self-gratulation lends his sponsorship to any and all works of art whose intention is subversive, he is in fact subverting nothing so much as that artistic integrity to which he professes devotion.

The examples could multiply. They abound in the liberal weeklies, in the highly influential *New York Review of Books,* in some of the quarterlies, and are to be heard from the platform of every forum, symposium, teach-in and round table on peace.

What is sorriest about this present climate is that it witnesses another betrayal for which yet another high price is sure to be exacted—in disillusionment and bitterness and violent reaction.

An intellectual temper which has not the patience to sort out the illegitimate from the legitimate cannot long sustain itself. We learned this from the '50s; it will be this decade's lesson, too. The '70s will very likely bring a turning back—a turning back from the value of all social passion as well as from the futility of violence. And may we not expect that the disillusion of tomorrow will become the hard, cold, oppressive philosophy of day after tomorrow?

Adm. Kimmel Was Scapegoat For Tragedy at Pearl Harbor

From the Arizona *Republic*

"You would do America a favor if you would shoot yourself," wrote a former Missouri circuit judge, "as you are certainly of no use to yourself nor the American people."

That is just one example of the many hostile, bitter, and paranoid letters sent to Rear Adm. Husband E. Kimmel after he was relieved of his command of the U.S. Pacific Fleet 10 days after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Some less emotional critics in Congress called for Kimmel's court martial, and a board of inquiry (the Roberts Commission) accused him of "dereliction of duty."

Despite eight separate investigations into the Pearl Harbor puzzle many of the pieces are missing and may never be known. Others are the subject of great controversy.

But what now seems clear, from the vantage point of more than 26 years, is that Admiral Kimmel had been made a scapegoat by the Roosevelt Administration, exactly as he contended all these years.

What we know about the Pearl Harbor affair is that the U.S. had broken the secret Japanese code and therefore had every reason to expact an attack on a U.S. installation. We also know that this military intelligence was withheld from Kimmel . . . the official explanation being that it was withheld for fear of alerting the Japanese that their code had been broken.

In any event, there was no "dereliction of duty," as the Roberts Commission charged.

But the overriding question is whether or not the information was withheld, as several major historians have contended (among them, the esteemed Charles Beard), in order to launch America's wartime involvement against Japan amid nationwide outrage over the "sneak attack" that knocked out 18 ships and killed 3,435 Americans.

This question probably can never be answered satisfactorily. Nevertheless, those who support this proposition point to the following entry in Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson's diary, dated

Rear Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, who died in May, was relieved of his command 10 days after the Pearl Harbor attack.

Nov. 25, 1941: "The question was how we should maneuver them (Japan) into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves."

And they point to FDR's extra-legal measures, in both the Atlantic and Pacific, that nudged America toward war even while Roosevelt was pledging peace and declaring that our boys would never fight on foreign soil.

For the rest of his life, Husband Kimmel proclaimed his innocence, insisting that he was victimized by an Administration which was bent on involving the United States in a war with Japan. "My principal occupation—what's kept me alive—is to expose the entire Pearl Harbor affair," he said in 1966.

Not long ago at age 86, Adm. Kimmel died. He did not receive in his lifetime the official vindication to which he felt he was entitled. But, in the relative calm of the post-war period, he did serve to remind the American nation that—whatever the ultimate facts about Pearl Harbor—the administration that moved rapidly to make a human sacrifice of him was anything but candid with the American people as the nation headed for a showdown with Japan.

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St. Louis Pruitt-Igoe Called 'National Disgrace'

How Public Housing Dream Became a Nightmare

In the center of St. Louis, Mo., stands one of the nation's most imposing monuments to the evils of public housing and urban renewal: the notorious Pruitt-Igoe Apartment Housing Project. This 14-year-old mammoth complex of 33 11-story architectural monstrosities has been labled by the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* as "just about the worst public housing in the United States."

The Pruitt-Igoe, named for a popular U.S. congressman and a World War II Air Force ace, was constructed on 55 acres of St. Louis slum land in 1954 with the help of $36.8 million in federal funds. The original concept was that Pruitt-Igoe would clear slum land and provide 2,755 housing units for low- and middle-income Negroes and whites. But, writes *Globe-Democrat* writer Larry Fields in a comprehensive study of Pruitt-Igoe, "the balance was changed."

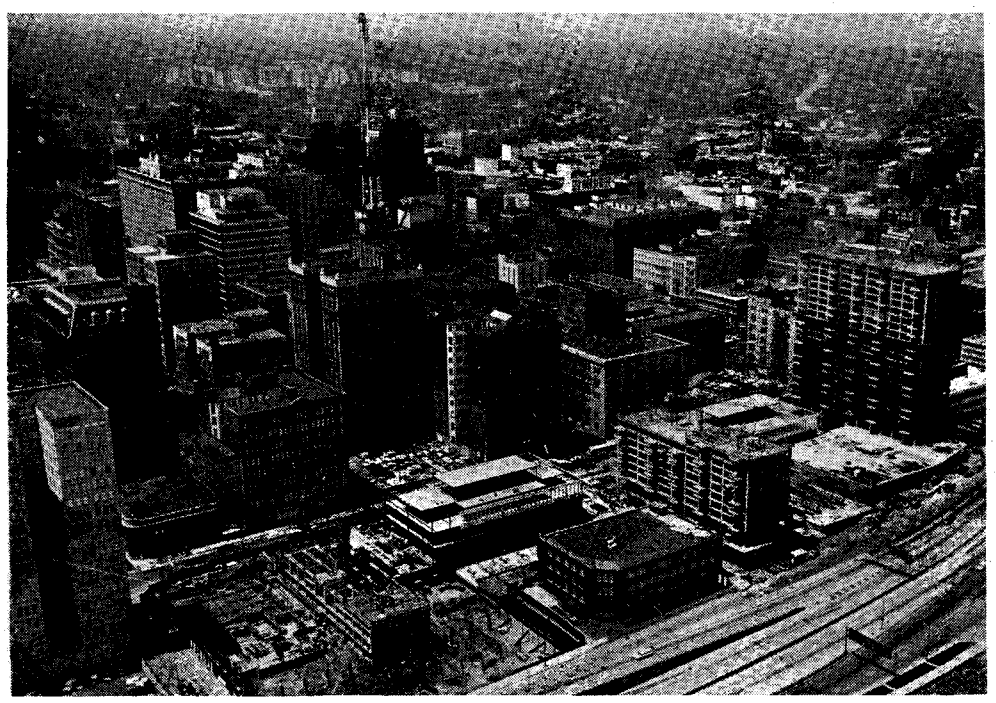
In the beginning Pruitt-Igoe was intended to house primarily working people, with the St. Louis Housing Authority adjusting rents according to an individual's income. At first only about 10 per cent of the tenants were receiving any sort of welfare assistance and prospective dwellers were carefully screened to maintain the income-level balance.

"But in the late 1950s," writes Fields, "an overburdened Welfare Department started pressuring the St. Louis Housing Authority to admit more welfare recipients. . . ." And as tenant restrictions were eased, the not-so-subtle changes began to occur.

City-bred workers were replaced by recent immigrants from rural areas, and most went immediately on welfare rolls; tenants who cared for their homes left and the rootless, shifting people who took their place allowed the buildings to deteriorate; male-headed families were replaced by large broods with only a woman in the home.

Conditions worsened until today, Fields reports, Pruitt-Igoe is "a terrified city within a worried city, a matriarchal society of too many unwed or deserted mothers and uncontrollable children, a community on the dole with an estimated two-thirds receiving some sort of welfare assistance, most surviving on ADC [Aid to Dependent Children] handouts."

And as the men have left and the buildings have deteriorated, vandals and marauders from outside the project have come to prey on its inhabitants and make it an all-purpose gathering spot. "The records show there is a lot of crime in Pruitt-Igoe," says Fields. "But what too many people do not know is that the crimes, most of them, are against the Pruitt-Igoe and its many law-abiding, frightened tenants."



The Pruitt-Igoe housing project is at upper left background on the northwest fringe of downtown St. Louis. Despite the good intentions of urban renewal planners, the project simply replaced an old slum with a new one.

Part of the tenants' fear arises out of Pruitt-Igoe's architectural flaws. The federal planners in their infinite wisdom placed only one elevator in each 11-story building and these stop only at the 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th floors, the original thought being that, to save construction money, tenants could easily walk either up or down a flight to get an elevator.

It didn't quite work out that way. Fields came across one widowed tenant who had not been out of her apartment for three years, partially because of an injured leg (injured in a fall on a cluttered Pruitt-Igoe staircase) but also because: "I'm really afraid to go out. It's so dangerous on the stairs. There's always a bunch of people lined up there drinking or gambling on the landings." Moreover, Fields reports that the elevators are constantly out of order as vandals take a peculiar delight in jamming their machinery.

The plan to have the long corridors on those floors at which elevators stop serve as play areas for children has also panned out in an unexpected manner. These corridors, writes the *Globe-Democrat* investigator, "also have been largely taken over by the hoodlum element. . . ". Fields then quotes a resident woman on the life style of the corridors:

"They shoot dice there and drink and I've even seen people making love on those concrete floors. There's nothing our kids don't know about sex by the time they're five years old. They see it [extra-marital intercourse] all around. It happens on staircase landing and floors, all over."

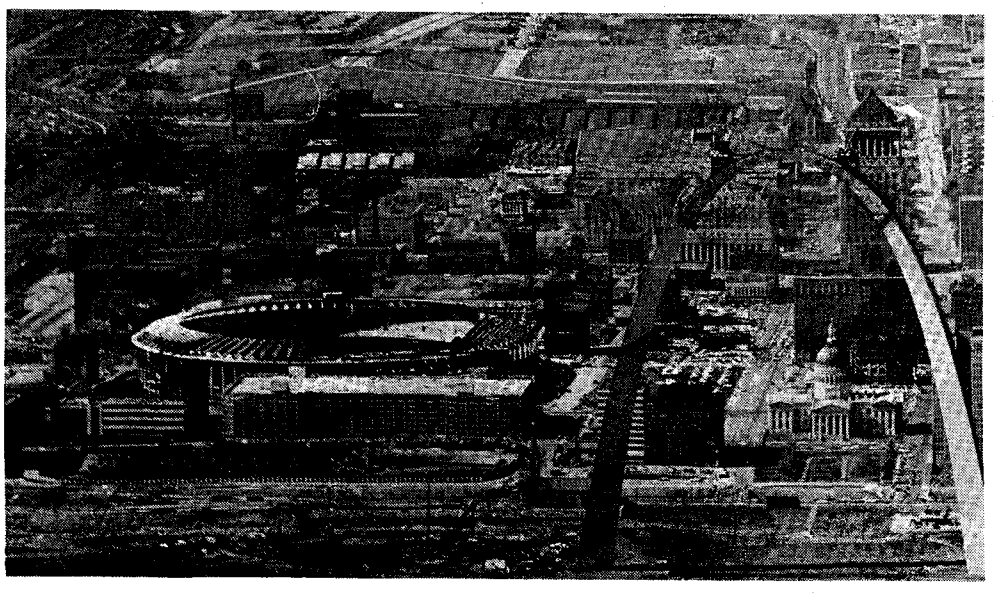
And so Pruitt-Igoe continues its downward trek. What is worse, no one seems to know what to do about it, least of all those most directly involved in the project's administration. Other people may think they have the answer, says Irvin Dagen, executive director of the St. Louis Housing Authority, "but I don't even know the right questions to find a solution."

Dr. Lee Rainwater, a Washington University sociology and anthropology professor, sees Pruitt-Igoe as indicative of the inherent failure of any and all massive public housing projects.

"The people who live there aren't much better off than they were when they lived in the slums," Dr. Rainwater commented to reporter Fields. "What can you accomplish when you bring together in the same area a group of people who have some of the most severe financial and emotional problems imaginable? It's like using a magnifying glass to capture the rays of the sun. There's got to be a fire."

It has been 14 years since the federal government and its urban renewing cronies decided to experiment a little with the living patterns of St. Louis residents. Neither the government nor the planners have been around once they accomplished what they set out to do—build Pruitt-Igoe. They've since moved on to other cities and other projects.

Meanwhile, writes Larry Fields, the Pruitt-Igoe section is "still a slum, only taller than it used to be, a local and national disgrace."



Although St. Louis is undergoing a massive rebuilding of its downtown area, the social problems arising from public housing remain. Above, the new Gateway Arch frames the St. Louis Court House.

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ELECTION YEAR REPORTS

To Enlighten, Inform, and Persuade Your Friends

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"Nelson Rockefeller: 'Reluctant' Candidate"

Will he rule-or-ruin again? M. Stanton Evans, editor of the Indianapolis **News**, brings his formidable reporting talents to bear on Gov. Rockefeller: the man and the politician, from his New Deal days to the present. Now that the governor has finally publicly announced his candidacy, this timely, in-depth profile should be read by all voters. They should learn why Rocky avoided primaries, how he stands on the issues.

2. RAFFERTY/KUCHEL
"Including an Interview with Dr. Max Rafferty"

Many consider the battle for the Republican senatorial nomination in California to be a classic conservative-liberal confrontation. Here the records of the two contenders are fully examined: Kuchel the impeccable liberal and party maverick; Rafferty the staunch conservative and loyal Republican. In a lively and candid interview Rafferty gives his views on major issues, such as education, civil disobedience, federal aid, and tells why he is running for the Senate.

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A former Goldwater aide who regularly visits the South to keep in touch with the political picture there, focuses on the phenomenon of George Wallace—his personal background, his early rise in the rough-and-tumble of back-county politics and his current candidacy—what his chances are and what effect it could have on the November elections. Plus exclusive poll of how the nation's leading conservatives feel about the Wallace candidacy.

4. OTEPKA
"The Otto Otepka Story"

The whole incredible story of security scandals in the State Department and what happened to the man who exposed them are revealed in Otepka's extraordinary defense brief. If enough voters learn this story of State Department security breakdowns, it could be an explosive campaign issue.

5. 1968 ELECTION GUIDE

Compiled by the editors from the six-part "Election Information" series which appeared in **Human Events**, this guide is a small encyclopedia of facts that will help you understand the essential historical, statistical and legal information relating to the 1968 elections, and the men who will be involved in them.

6. REAGAN
"High Marks for Reagan's First Year in Office"

Lee Edwards, author of **Reagan: A Political Biography**, reviews the Reagan record as Governor of the nation's largest state, and finds much in it to praise. Includes excerpts from unofficial "news conferences," which reflect Reagan's candid views on the issues and his astuteness in handling the press.

7. SCHLAFLY ON THE GOP
"Don't Let Them Take It Away"

Phyllis Schlafly, author of such campaign best-sellers as **A Choice Not An Echo** and **Safe—Not Sorry**, zeros in on the behind-the-scenes plans of the liberals to take control of the GOP. Her conclusion: conservatives have what it takes to win, but could lose it all if they don't take the necessary action now.

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A 'Viet Nam' in South America?

Castroite Guerrillas Take Aim on Colombia

By RICHARD J. BOCKLET

"A 50-man Communist guerrilla band killed 17 soldiers in ambush yesterday while being pursued by government troops and helicopters in the precipitous highlands around Algeciras, 150 miles southwest of the capital. Five days ago, five policemen perished in a dawn attack on the hamlet of Vijagual, on the Magdalena River, 350 miles north of yesterday's battle area."

A typical war report—only the scene is not Viet Nam—but Colombia, South America. This is a high-priority country on Fidel Castro's subversion list to overextend and weaken U.S. defenses through conflagrations in this hemisphere.

From Havana, the hirsute dictator boasts he will explode "a dozen Viet Nams and today his Cuban-trained agents (estimated to number over 4,000 throughout Latin America) are trying to do just that. Armed revolutionary struggles are to be intensified in 1968, this Castro-proclaimed "year of the heroic guerrilla."

Although no competent authorities suggest that Castro-Communist forces in Colombia are at a point of taking over, recent on-the-spot interviews with government and military spokesmen show the extent of their activities.

Within the last several months a new 40-man guerrilla band calling itself the "Popular Army of Liberation" (EPL) began terrorist activities in the Alto Sinu and Alto San Jorge regions in the northwestern Cordoba Department. Preliminary action included an attack on a 10-man police post at Pueblo Saiza, about 250 miles north of the capital, and the slaughter of four farmers to show they meant business. Bands of upwards of 80 men taxing landowners, pressuring peasants from their plots, and demanding support for the "Liberation Army," have drawn national attention.

Army Claims Control

Reports of coordinated and massive guerrilla attacks planned for police headquarters, city halls and inspection posts in Uramita, Dabeiba, Mutata, Chirigodo and Carepa to assassinate local authorities have caused consternation in the region. With reinforcements rushed in and military heads scouring the area, an official Army communique urged inhabitants to be calm.

In mid-April, amid deep citizen and newspaper concern, the minister of defense, Gen. Gerardo Ayerbe Chaux, affirmed that creation of a new brigade here was not needed, that the situation was under control.

One Colombian officer told me: "This group has been training since mid-1966 to start terrorist operations. It may be a new front of pro-Cuban elements to the north and definitely follows the Castro hard line. But the thing in our favor is that the peasants do not support them; give us helpful information on their whereabouts."

Older, better-established 200 to 300-man Red guerrilla bands are operating in six departments in the northeast and central part of the country. Around 20,000 government troops, with a fleet of U.S.-supplied helicopters and other highly mobile military hardware, beat back their attacks on small towns and hamlets in the rugged interior.

Communist maps divide the country into five "Socialist independent republics" and two large war zones. In their "republics" of Sumapaz and Marquetalia, south of Bogota, much of the population lives alternately under Communist and government control—as in many areas of South Viet Nam.

Guerrilla bands like the one above have been very active in the mountainous areas of South America. Thanks to overt help from Fidel Castro, these terrorist bands have created havoc for numerous countries, although so far they are receiving little support from the populace.

Brush fire wars under direction of Castro-trained guerrillas like Manuel Marulanda Velez, Ciro Castano and Fabio Vasquez Castano, cost over 1,000 lives annually. Robberies and kidnappings have added upwards of $1 million to Red coffers, estimates say. Streets of even major cities are patrolled not only by heavily armed policemen but government troops. Many police and soldiers go in pairs; automatic rifles, even submachine guns, are standard equipment.

After a wave of guerrilla attacks, President Carlos Lleras Restrepo, in declaring martial law in March 1967 (Colombia has been under a state of siege since May 1965), admitted: "We know that we are living under conditions which are only outwardly calm. The armed forces are in a state of alert, but it is very difficult to guard such vast regions of our country."

Referring to Castro Cuba, he warned that the guerrillas were "not some crazy kids in the hills . . . but instruments of a general subversive tactic supported from the cities and from abroad."

Colombia's two entrenched rebel bands," "Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces" (FARC) and the "Army of National Liberation" (ELN), have been attacking army outposts and police stations, hijacking buses and trains and kidnapping prominent citizens for ransom for years. Some guerrillas are still teen-agers; those over 20 are called "veterans."

FARC, associated with the Moscow-leaning Communist Party of Colombia (PCC), sprang from warfare between Conservatives and Liberals lasting from 1948 to 1958. Since then Red rebel leaders have whipped old bandit and political gangs into guerrilla fighting forces threatening large areas of southwestern Huila and Tolima Departments.

During a recent FARC terrorist operation, in the region of San Bartolo, outside the capital of Huila, the "Oscar Reyes" band murdered 12 peasants in cold blood. After using the kidnapped farmers to transport recently stolen supplies, Red guerrillas brutally tore them to pieces with machete blows; their bloodied remains were discovered by the 9th Brigade troops in the jungle of El Pato. And, just days before, the same band calmly slew a 75-year-old farmer who offered resistance to their robbery schemes.

Formed in late 1964, the Castroite ELN numbers atout 100, including reports of some female members. Operating in north-eastern Colombia in vast areas bordering on Venezuela, this group is composed of many young, urban revolutionaries under the leadership of 30-year-old Fabio Vasquez Castano, a fiery disciple of Fidel Castro. His men wear caps, uniforms and armbands resembling those of Cuba's 26th of July Movement.

During a recent visit to this rugged frontier area, I learned that ELN maintains close contacts with its Venezuelan counterpart, the "Armed Forces of National Liberation" (FALN). Despite increased air, boat and police patrols along the 1,378-mile border, Red couriers and arms shipments slip into the country.

Informed sources report that this type traffic has increased since the Havana-based Latin American Solidarity Congress last July and August which pledged to spark "Revolutionary common strategy . . . aimed at the seizure of power [in Latin America] through armed struggle."

In testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs last June, the acting assistant secretary of state for Inter-American Affairs, Robert M. Sayre, reported: "Guerrilla activity [in Colombia] increased in February and March, and although it has since subsided to some extent, the level of violence still remains higher than in 1966."

Rebel attacks continued and toward the end of last year evidence of Castro complicity increased.

In November and December vigilant airport customs agents uncovered several Colombians entering the country from unauthorized travel to Cuba. Authorities feel their arrests might have thwarted a high-level guerrilla meeting to coordinate and intensify operations, with new instructions from Red Cuba.

One of the couriers, Raul Gutierrez Moreno, tried to smuggle in arms. One pistol was inscribed: "To the Colombian Guerrilla Fighter Fabio Castano." Another, Luis Erlin Ibanez—a participant in Castro's Latin American Solidarity Congress—carried messages to ELN leaders.

Cubans Landing Men

Just two weeks after a December 29 release of closed-session testimony to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee that Castroite fishing vessels regularly deliver agents and arms to Central and South American shores, reports circulated of a landing of Cuban and Colombian guerrillas near the coastal area of Cabo de la Vela. Sources, both in Colombia and Venezuela, indicated that Army units were scouring the border area around Carraipia for the newly arrived subversive elements.

(While this was the first indication of Castro forces landing on Colombian soil, neighboring Venezuela has had several disembarkments of Cuban guerrillas. For example, in Caracas, in April, Interior Relations Minister Reinaldo Leandro Mora confirmed that government troops killed three Cubans in a clash with a rebel band in the mountainous region of Sabana Larga in the western state of Yaracuy.)

And, from the Alto Sinu area in central Colombia, recent information indicates that Antonio Dahut is chief of the EPL. The Colombian-born rebel was a principle figure in the Cuban revolution and in charge of Minas de Frio, training camp for Latin-American guerrillas.

However, the battle is not all one-sided, as a U.S. major at the United States Southern Defense Command in the Panama Canal Zone told me:

"The Colombian army is conducting one of the best counter-insurgency campaigns in Latin America. Recently the 'Camilo Torres', 'Che Guevara' and 'Luis Bonilla' bands of the National Liberation Army were destroyed, and in other regions Red guerrillas are taking high loses in clashes with the Armed Forces."

But while Communists are achieving one objective, keeping elements of the population terrorized and in doubt of the government's ability to adequately protect them, President Lleras focused on an important byproduct of guerrilla activities. "Guarding this country against attacks is bleeding the nation economically. It consumes resources which could be invested in the many needs of the Colombian people."

"And while the country must maintain itself on a wartime footing," the President continued, "the machinery [Castro Cuba] which trains and instructs the guerrillas remains intact and unchallenged."

Mr. Brocklet, a free-lance writer specializing in foreign affairs, has recently returned from his second trip to Colombia in the past four months. He has previously contributed to Human Events *first-hand reports on Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines.*

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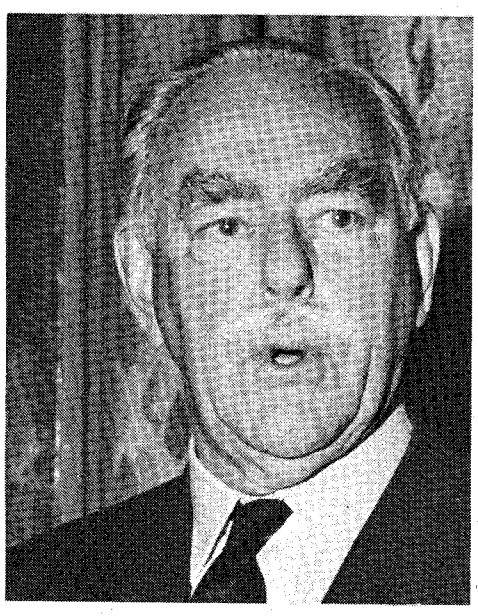
More U.N. Hypocrisy on Rhodesia

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

It is good to get back to the United Nations here in New York City. One feels so at home in the smog.

In recent weeks the smog—the smog of hypocrisy, that is—has seemed especially thick. It is worse than the faint haze that always hangs over Congress. It is infinitely more nauseous than the cheerful lies of an Oregon campaign. The Security Council is back on Rhodesia again, contemplating a couple of punitive resolutions, and the most elementary principles of fair play and basic law have floated down the river. They are lost in the fog and may never be seen again.

One of the resolutions, taking the approach of let's you and him fight, comes from the Afro-Asian bloc. It begins by reaffirming the spurious assertion that Rhodesian independence "constitutes a threat to international peace and security." No such threat ever has been proved; it has merely been stated. Rhodesia has threatened no one.



Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, speaking before the American Bar Association, has denounced our Rhodeisan policy in no uncertain terms.

The Afro-Asian resolution goes on to concede that economic sanctions have failed to bring Rhodesia to her knees, partly because of the sympathetic position taken by Portugal and South Africa. Therefore the resolution proposes to censure Portugal and South Africa by name, but more than this is required: The resolution urges Great Britain "to take urgently all necessary measures including the use of force to bring an end to the rebellion."

The second resolution, sponsored by Great Britain, is longer and more legalistic. Its purpose is to give another turn to the sanctions screw. Members of the United Nations would be obligated to prevent the flow of capital into Rhodesia, to ban travelers on Rhodesian passports, to prevent aircraft and ships from transporting Rhodesian freight, and generally to ostracize and isolate Great Britain's rebellious offspring.

The two resolutions have been kicking around for more than a month. The Afro-Asian delegations are trying to pick up support from Latin America, but the Latins are playing it cool. It is generally agreed that the Security Council will reject an appeal to force, even if Britain has to exercise its veto, but pressures are being generated for hard-line action.

One wonders drearily, why? Why has Rhodesia been singled out for the unprecedented punishment imposed by the Council? The familiar answer is that Rhodesia's "illegal white racist regime" has flagrantly denied the principles of self-determination, majority rule, and one man, one vote.

Surely it is true that Rhodesia's government has refused to extend those principles here and now. But one is compelled to ask: When did these principles get to be the law of the United Nations? And if violation of these principles can be construed as a threat to international peace, why is the rule not applied to all alike? Why the double standard?

The questions are unanswerable; or more accurately, as Dean Acheson has said, they can be answered only in terms of the transparent hypocrisy that has emerged with the African bloc. The United Nations is paying a high price for this indulgence. Obviously the sanctions imposed thus far upon Rhodesia have failed. Not only Portugal and South Africa have ignored them; as a recent article in tne *Reporter* magazine made clear, dozens of other nations have winked at them, too. The impotence of the U.N. becomes steadily more apparent.

Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith is treading a perilous path between extremists on both sides in his country.

Why compound the folly? George Ball, who will replace Arthur Goldberg as U.S. ambassador next month, has described economic sanctions as a "romantic delusion." In his recent book, *The Discipline of Power*, he has bluntly remarked that non-military sanctions are more likely to result in annoyance than hardship.

This further objection arises, that adoption of a hard-line Council resolution will make political survival even more difficult for Rhodesia's Ian Smith. He is treading a perilous path. If he stumbles, right-wing extremists will move into power. Once that happens, Great Britain, the United Nations and Rhodesia's black majority will have lost far more than they could have gained by wiser policies all along.

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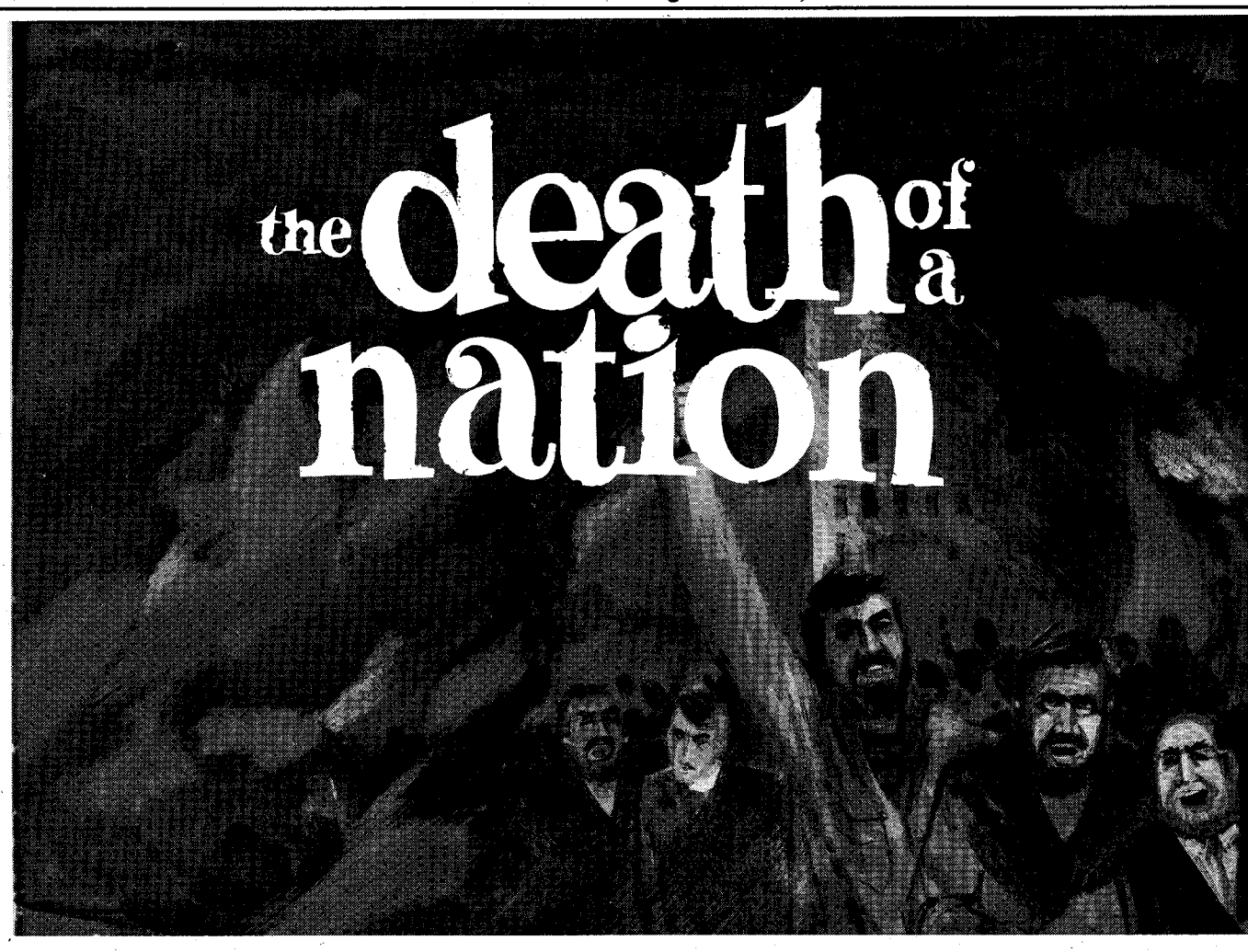

a new book by the author of "None Dare Call It Treason"

Published on May 1st, *The Death Of A Nation* by John A. Stormer brings *None Dare Call It Treason* up to date. It shows how the communists are using the no-win war in Vietnam, the riots, the gold crisis, and the moral revolution among young people to destroy America's ability and will to resist. The book documents how President Johnson and other leaders of America's government, schools and churches are using your dollars to aid the communist enemy. It's dynamite! You'll want to read all ten fact-filled chapters, which include:

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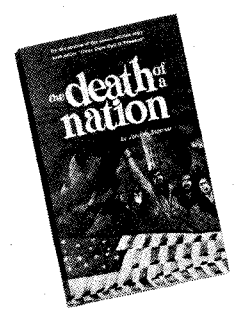

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Electing the President By Congressional Districts

By FREDERIC NELSON

(Discussions about the pros and cons of the Electoral College method of choosing the President have intrigued conservatives for many years. In the article below, **Human Events** Contributing Editor Frederic Nelson boosts one solution that has often been advocated—electors from congressional districts.)

The way political discussion has been carried on recently points to the wisdom of the group of Virginia citizens who have brought suit in the federal courts to force the choice of the state's members of the Electoral College by congressional districts instead of, as now, from the state at large.

The delicious irony of this is that the Virginians base their case on the theory that the present rule which gives all the state's electoral votes to the candidate who comes out ahead (perhaps in a squeaker), violates the "one man, one vote" ukase handed down by the Supreme Court.

The effect of the change, which was proposed 16 years ago by former Rep. Frederic R. Coudert of New York, would be to give representation in the Electoral College to the runner-up. Thus in 1960 Richard Nixon would probably have won had this system been in effect, because he carried more congressional districts than John F. Kennedy did.

Mr. Coudert proposed to make the change by an amendment to the Constitution, although there seems to be no reason why each state could not accomplish the same result on its own. After all, it is the logical method, since the Constitution requires that the number of electors from each state equal the number of its representatives in both houses of Congress.

Indeed, early in our history many states picked their presidential electors by congressional districts. The change to the unit rule was made later by the states themselves. Why they did so was explained by J. Harvie Williams in *Human Events* for Dec. 10, 1952:

With the rise of the party system, politicians "forced the change in order to control the state's full power in electing a President. The more power they could wield in the election, the more influence they could exert on his Administration."

Politicians can still be relied on to oppose a change from the unit rule for the same reason.

What has all this to do with the kind of political discussion now considered relevant? The answer is obvious. The Bobby Kennedy, McCarthy and—God save us—the Rockefeller campaigns have been largely pitched to the prejudices of racial and ultra-liberal groups which flourish mainly in our big-population states: New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, California, etc. Politicians, noting that the winner of a U.S. election must carry most of these states, is tempted, usually beyond his strength, to bid for the support of racial and leftist elements which can provide the balance of power in those states.

Thus, under the winner-take-all rule, all of New York's 43 electoral votes go to the candidate whose popular vote tops that of his opponent, perhaps by a few hundred, and quite probably because of a heavy "liberal" vote in the New York City area. The millions who supported the loser are not represented at all in the Electoral College, where it matters.

In the brilliant article cited *supra* Mr. Williams quoted this revealing sentence from testimony before the House Judiciary Committee by Dr. Ruth Silva of Pennsylvania State College:

"In recent years the general ticket system of choosing presidential electors . . . has compelled candidates to advocate policies designed to win the votes of conscious ethnic, religious and economic groups in metropolitan centers where minorities hold the balance of power in populous states with large blocs of electoral votes."

Q.E.D. But how reassuring it would be if the power of these turbulent and revolutionary minorities, which threaten to smash our system to bits, could be confined on election day to the congressional districts in which they reside—instead of providing the votes needed virtually to disenfranchise millions of Americans who want to keep our free enterprise economy and political responsibility!

Should the Virginia litigants succeed in their suit, and should their recommended reform prevail over the country, we might easily see, not only a new type of political propaganda in election campaigns, but the end of a spate of crackpot laws which politicians think they must support to appease minority groups whose power, under the present method of picking presidential electors, often outweighs the power of the majority. Should that happen, an Administration need no longer worry too much about New York, California, et al., because the stake would be no more than possible loss of, say, *half* the electoral votes of those states.

We might well have heard the last of guaranteed national incomes, free rides for student revolutionaries, subservience to U.N. dictation re Rhodesia, penalty taxes on the "rich," etc. Congress might even summon the nerve to restore to Congress and the people at least some of the powers grabbed by our Nine Platonic Guardians, to quote the late Judge Learned Hand who ought to have been made a Guardian himself.

Right now all this is wishful thinking, and we shall, of course, have to go through the coming election with the dice loaded against patriotism and common sense. However, for the long pull the Warren Court has provided a new ground for attacking the present system. The Virginia suit, if it ever gets to the Supreme Court, will doubtless meet the same fate as did a similar action brought by Delaware citizens last year. The high court dismissed the Delaware suit on the ground that it involved "no substantial constitutional question."

Parenthetically one might ask what constitutional question was involved in the same court's imposition of its one man, one vote nonsense of congressional districts—not to mention counties, townships and school districts. No answer is to be expected to that poser, but the application of one man, one vote to the electoral college ought to cause the learned jurists to review the bidding.

Failing in the courts, alert citizens could still approach the legislatures of the populous states with this question: Do you really enjoy being the captives of racial minorities, union bosses and Communist-oriented liberals? If escape from this bondage can be shown to be nothing worse or more complicated than a return to the electoral system favored by Jefferson, Hamilton, J. Q. Adams and Daniel Webster, this needed change might pick up some surprising support.

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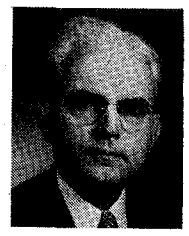
SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Voting at 18?

By SEN. SPESSARD HOLLAND (D.-Fla.)



Recently I testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee's subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments in opposition to proposals to lower the voting age requirements to 18 for all states and to take from individual states the right of decision in this matter.

I have strong feelings on the subject and was among those in Congress who successfully repulsed similar efforts in 1954. All states were in accord in setting the voting age at 21 from 1787 until 1943, when Georgia lowered the minimum requirement to 18 years. Today most states have minimum age limits governing the carrying of firearms, the purchase and consumption of alcoholic beverages, the entering into marital and business contracts, and the attainment of majority and 21 is the prevailing limit.

The argument that those old enough to fight are old enough to vote is an utterly fallacious one; no parallel exists between draft and voting ages. Obedience to command and strict adherence to orders is required of soldiers who are not in position to establish policy for themselves. On the other hand, the voter must have the ability to distinguish promise from performance and to evaluate candidates on the basis of fact. Female citizens who do not fight and older men, long past military age, have the same right to vote as the young men.

Intellectual maturity is a much more important basis for the right of franchise than is the physical maturity which permits many 18-year-old men to become excellent soldiers. A reduction in the voting age would confer political rights and responsibilities upon minors not generally considered to be sufficiently mature to be legally responsible for their actions. Leaders of radical movements are keenly aware that patience and analytical thinking are not particular virtues of the young, and that radicalism's greatest appeal is to those between the ages of 18 and 21.

The Communists have directed their most intensive efforts toward the young, as with Hitler and Mussolini who reduced the voting age to 18. The success of such strategy can be seen today on some American college campuses. In all, there have been 71 instances of campus disturbances in the first two months of 1968. The right of the ballot carries with it the responsibilities and duties of good citizenship. Among these duties is jury service in both civil and criminal cases, and I doubt that many teen-agers, their admirable qualities notwithstanding, possess the judgment, sound reasoning and emotional stability to make jury service a practical course.

FBI Chief Safeguard

By SEN. GEORGE MURPHY (R.-Calif.)

My amendment to the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act is a very simple one. It provides that the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation be hereafter appointed by the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. This requirement would be effective whenever the present incumbent, J. Edgar Hoover, ceases to serve; it would affect his tenure in no way whatsoever. It is my sincere hope that this time, since it has passed the Senate by a vote of 72 to 0, the House will reflect the enthusiasm of the Senate and will see that this becomes part of the law.

Debt Interest Uses

By REP. JOHN T. MYERS (R.-Ind.)

The interest on the national debt—$14.4 billion—now ranks third in all spending categories.

That $14.4 billion could provide a pair of $12 shoes every other month for a whole year for every man, woman and child in the United States.

It could provide nice new $15,000 homes for 960,000 families.

It could mean shiny new $2,500 automobiles for 5,760,000 proud owners.

It could build 14,400 million-dollar grammar schools to meet expanding community needs.

It could build 3,000 completely equipped high schools at a cost of $4.8 million apiece.

It could provide a college education for one and one half million young Americans.

If that same amount could be invested in industry, it could create more than 660,000 production jobs.

These are just some of the ways this money could be put to productive use in building a bigger and better America for all if the government had not piled up the massive national debt which now totals nearly $365 billion.

This same deficit spending is also the basic cause of the sky-rocketing cost of living which has jumped 9 per cent since 1964 for the average American family.

Despite Administration promises of prudence, the proposed budget shows increases in spending of nearly 10 per cent. Those of us in the economy block hope to make major cuts in this budget in the months ahead. This is the only way we can avoid any further increase in taxes and call a halt to the deficit spending.

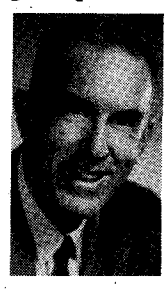
Extortion in D.C.

By REP. TOM PELLY (R.-Wash.)

Washington, D.C., has always been a city which every American could be proud to visit, but night after night the criminals burn and kill at a rate far above what could be considered in any mind as "normal." As an example, some time back a U.S. senator, leaving a downtown Washington theater, had to "hit the deck" when an armed robber was exchanging gunfire with a policeman. More recently, in fact in the last three weeks, three merchants and one bus driver have been shot to death during robberies; arson still is a nightly affair, with as many as 12 suspicious fires a night, and criminal assault is shockingly high. Full-page ads in Washington newspapers have been placed by various businessmen's associations as "Letters to the President," pleading for police protection. All the while, the Administration terms these acts of crime "disturbances," and refers to the riots as "connected with civil rights." The fact is, however, that this is gangsterism. When bands of youths bully their way into a market or liquor store, grab what they want from the shelves and threaten to burn the store down if there is any protest from the owner, that has nothing to do with "civil rights." Or when young toughs tell a merchant he has to buy a picture of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. for $100 and place it in the window or face reprisal, that is extortion, not "social protest."

Meat Act Folly

By SEN. PAUL FANNIN (R.-Ariz.)



As if there were not enough real and pressing problems crowding in upon the Republic, there is now a highly vocal special-interest group bent on generating problems from their imagination, or making big ones out of little ones.

Ralph Nader has gone from cars to pipelines to pipe cleaners and now has accused the radiologists of the nation of discriminatory practices in the dispensation of diagnostic X-rays.

We have had a great deal of induced hysteria by these professional alarmists who have created a profitable profession for themselves developing their highly paid concern for the poor benighted consumer who, in their opinion, is hardly able to discern a store front from a fire plug. One of the most blatant uses of this hysteria occurred last year with much sound and fury emanating from the White House and other points west about the reputed problems of wholesome meat in this nation.

The standard technique is to scare up some outstanding horror stories and plaster them in the newspapers, thus generating enough public pressure for the passage of the new laws. This procedure was followed, and we now have the Wholesome Meat Act, which practically preempts the states from doing anything effective in this field, supposedly sets up the federal government as the guardian of the people's meat problem; but has dangerous and precedent-setting trends that could actually result in a reduction of the quality of meat that consumers enjoy. . . .

This is the kind of mess we get ourselves into when we listen to the rabble-rousers who incite the public to gain political ends. I am tired of it, and I intend to speak out against it wherever and whenever possible.

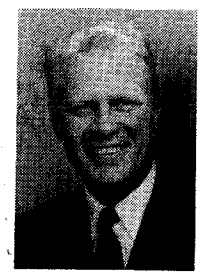
Look Who's Talking

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

"Dr. King's Death Shakes Africans". That's the headline in a Washington newspaper article from Lagos, Nigeria, whose head of government, Gen. Gowon, cabled President Johnson: "We applaud your efforts in the cause of Negro advancement and pray that God will help you and the American people fill the vaccum his (King's) death has created. . . ." Gowon is the brutal, military dictator of what is called the federal government of Nigeria which is fighting a civil war with the Nigerian secessionist state of Biafra. In recent months, Gen. Gowon's Negro troops, equipped by the Russians, have massacred some 40,000 virtually defenseless Negro tribesmen, including women and children, who happened to live in the State of Biafra. It is unlikely that any official of the U.S. government will respond to dictator Gowon by asking him how the cause of "Negro advancement" has been served by the slaughter of 40,000 of his unarmed countrymen.

LBJ's Fiscal Gimmick

By REP. GERALD FORD (R.-Mich.)



In discussing expenditure reduction recently, Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) pointed out that President Johnson's promise of December 2, 1965 to eliminate 25,000 federal jobs prior to June 1966 actually resulted in an increase in federal employment of 190,325. During the month of December in which the promise was made federal employ-employment increased by 2,819. Increases continued monthly until June 1966 when 73,088 persons were added to Uncle Sam's payroll. Instead of cutting out 25,000 jobs, a total of 190,325 were created.

But even more bewildering was the explanation given by the Director of the Budget when Sen. Williams asked him to explain this discrepancy to the Senate Committee on Finance. The director said it was very easy to explain. He noted that when Mr. Johnson made the statement that he was going to make the reduction of 25,000 in federal employment he had in mind adding 225,000 employees. He changed his mind and cut 25,000 from the figure he was planning to add. Actually, since he added only 190,000 instead of the 225,000 he had in mind, there was a reduction of 35,000, even more than had been promised.

Sen. Williams concluded: "Following that line of reasoning, why did the President not fix his mind on adding one million employes, and then I suppose he would have claimed a reduction of 800,000. It is this kind of tactic that is going to bankrupt this country, and that is why we have this credibility gap."

Mob Rule Dangers

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.)

The convocation of thousands of self-appointed representatives in the very shadow of the Capitol is an attempt to short-circuit the democratic process. Leaders of the so-called Poor People's Campaign have already manifested this intention. The Rev. Andrew Young, Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is quoted in the press as saying: "We have marched here to demand that Congress and the executive branch of government share with us the power of self-government. If Congress doesn't give us some of their power, we will take it all *away from them." Such statements do not seek to improve legislation; they seek to overthrow the legislature. Although many people undoubtedly have joined the camp-in with good intentions, it takes only a tiny minority to set off mob action. Thus it is highly significant that the radicals from Columbia and other universities have been invited to come and join in the demonstrations.*

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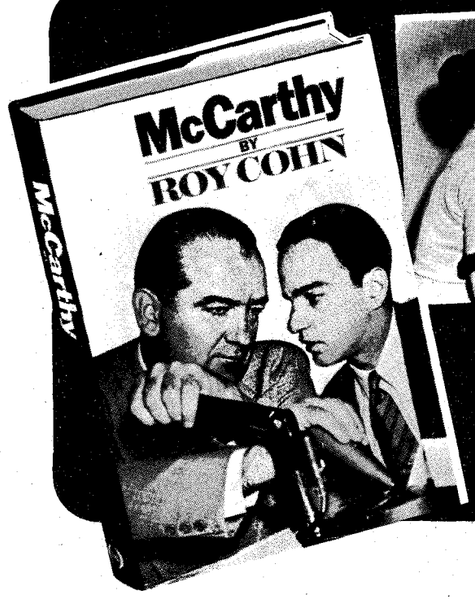

McCarthy produces letter to Army officials from J. Edgar Hoover citing subversion at Fort Monmouth and links between Monmouth employees and Rosenberg-Sobell spy ring. Does this trouble the Liberals? Silly question. They ignore the Communists, wax indignant over how McCarthy got the letter.

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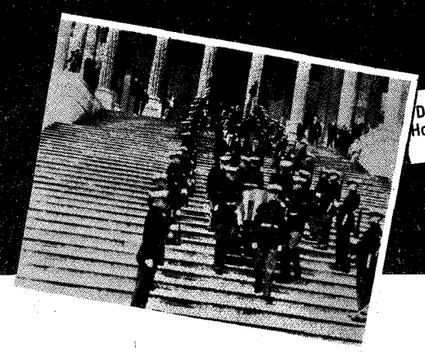

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